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Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies, No. 4

Pāli Language and Literature

a systematic survey and historical study

Vol. I

Language : History and Structure
Literature : Canonical Pāli Texts

Kanai Lal Hazra

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Pāli Language and Literature

a systematic survey and historical study

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PĀLI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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3. Buddhism in Karnataka / by Dr. R.C. Hiremath, Former Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University, Dharwad; With a Foreword by H. H. The Dalai Lama. [ISBN 81-246-0013-9]

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Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies, no. 4

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PĀLI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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A systematic survey and historical study

Vol. 1

Part 1 - Language : History and Structure
Part 2 - Literature : Canonical Pāli Texts

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Kanai Lal Hazra

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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TO

The Sacred Memory
of
Nirmala Hazra
Ramola Kumar
Manjari Ghosh

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Preface

PĀLI is a literary language of Buddhists and it grew out of a mixture of dialects like all other literary languages. Pāli bears traces of many different Ind-Aryan dialects and has been a speech of the early middle Indo-Aryan period (600 B.C. to 200 B.C.). It is all the more confirmed by the use of numerous double forms in the Pāli language and spread of Buddhism to different dialectical regions. So it is not a homogeneous language. It is also believed that at the time of Aśoka or in the post-Aśokan period there was a Buddhist canon resembled Pāli closely, but not entirely identical with Pāli canon. By tradition, Pāli had been closely connected with the local script in Sri Lanka, Burma (now Myanmar) and some Indo-China countries. It can also be said that a close relationship existed between Pāli and *Vedic* since some vocabularies of Sanskrrit are similar with Pāli vocabulary, but both are independent and developed stages of last Aryan speech. This language is of vernacular character, because of its idioms and colloquial expression, frequency of double forms and the presence of *Sandhi*.

Since Pāli is the accepted language of Buddhism of that time, this language and its various literature can serve as a basic source material for most of the scholars working on this field. It's rich literature, which is a storehouse of not only ancient history and religion, but also serves the motive of studying social, political, cultural, linguistic, economic and architectural history of by-gone years. The social and cultural milieu of that time in the neighbouring countries, like, Sri Lanka, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, etc. can also be revealed from its literature. So one can feel the necessity and importance of Pāli language in this light.

Despite the growing interest of scholars in Buddhist studies and its language, only a few works have dealt with the Pāli language and literature. This work is undoubtedly a systematic

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historical study of the Pāli language and literature, and it brings a connected account of the origin of Pāli language and different phases of development of its literature.

For the convenience of the readers, this work is divided into two volumes. The first volume, focusing on history of Pāli language and its canonical texts, presents in considerable detail the home land of Pāli, its characteristics, the meaning of 'Pāli', significant role played by Pāli as vehicle of Buddhism, a true picture of the language and importance of the study of Pāli. While delving on *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, this volume also elaborately discusses *Sutta Piṭaka*, *Vinaya Piṭaka* and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* texts.

Its second volume covers a detailed study about the non-canonical Pāli works and literature. Besides dealing comprehensively with various commentaries on the *Abhidhamma*, it covers other invaluable commentaries by the well-known commentators Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. Also, this volume turns out to be the first ever study to singly explore all the significant Pāli Chronicles from Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thialand, and other Pāli literary pieces, manuals and texts including grammar, lexicons, law, etc.

This work is an elaborate and scientific study about the Pāli language and literature which can be regarded as the first of its kind and most complete book on the subject. Although the themes are approached from different sources, yet the descriptions and interpretations discussed here are based on primary sources.

I express deep gratitude to my teacher, Dr. Sukumar Sengupta, Ex-Reader in the Department of Pāli, Calcutta University for giving me his invaluable guidance in my work. I must thank Prof. Dillip Kumar Roy of the Department of Museology, Calcutta University, Prof. (Dr.) Mrinal Kanti Ganguly, Department of Sanskrit of Calcutta University and Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, for taking personal interest in my work.

My thanks are also due to my brother Mr. Subodh Kumar Hazra, my niece Mrs. Pratima Haldar and her husband Mr. Pranab Kumar Haldar for their keen interest in the publication of this book.

Last but not the least, I am thankful to the Librarian, Central University Library, Calcutta University, for permitting access to books in this Library.

KANAI LAL HAZRA

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Buddhaghosa: *The Visuddhimagga* — *The Samanta- pāsādikā* — *The Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* — *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* — *The Papañcasūdanī* — *The Sāratthappkāsinī* — *The Manorathapūraṇī* — *The Khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā* — *The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* — *The Jātakaṭṭhakathā.*
Dhammapāla : *The Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* — *The Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* — *The Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* — *The Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā* — *The Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā.*

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From Myanmar: *The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṁsa — The Gandhavaṁsa — The Sāsanavaṁsa.*

From Thailand: *The Cāmadevīvaṁsa — The Jinakālamāli — The Saṅgītivaṁsa — The Mūlasāsanā -- The P'ra Sihing — The Ratana Bimbawongs — The Paṁsāvadān Kruṅ Kao Chabāb Praset Aksaranīti — The Pathamasambodhi — The Uppātasanti — The Saddhamma Saṅgaha.*

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Abbreviations

ABDPADV	*Ācariya Buddhadatta Praṇito Abhidhammāvatāro*, Mahesh Tiwary
ADKB	*Abhidharmakesabhāsya.*
ADP	*Abhidharma Philosophy*, Ven. Nyampanika Mahathers.
ADTRRV	*Abhidhamma Terminology, in the Rūpārūpavibhāga*, B.N. Chaudhury.
AMMV	*Asutosh Mukherjee Memorial Volume pt. II.*
AN	*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Rev. Richard Merris, E. Hardy, Mabal Hunt and C.A.F. Rhys Davids.
ASI	*Atthasālinī.*
BB	*Bibliotheca Buddhica.*
BCPP	*Buddhism in Ceylon, Its Past and Its Present*, H.R. Perera.
BD	*The Book of Discipline*, Vol. IV *(Mahāvagga)*, I.B. Hernrt.
BI	*Buddhist India*, T.W. Rhys Davids.
BIA	*Buddhism in India and Abroad*, A.C. Banerjee.
BMPE	*A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, C.A.F. Rhys Davids.
BS	*Buddhistic Studies*, B.C. Law
Bapat	*2500 years of Buddhism*, ed. P.V. Bapat.
CB	*Concepts of Buddhism*, B.C. Law.
CCM	*Catalogue of the Colombo museum*, D.M.de Z. Wickrema singhe.
CDV	*The Cāmadevivaṁsa*, G.Ceedes.

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CEB	*The Cult of the Emerald Buddha*. R. Lingat.
CHI	*The Cultural Heritage of India*, ed. S.K. Chatterjee.
CKDV	*Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṁsa*, Minayeff.
CP	*Compendium of Philosophy*, S.Z. Aung and Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids.
CSMBM	*Catalogue of the Siṁhala Manuscripts in the British Museum*, D.M.de Z. Wickremasinghe.
CTLL	*A Catalogue of the Temple Libraries of Ceylon*, Louis De Zeysa.
CTTH	*Chronicle of Traditions in Thai Historiography*, David K. Wyatt.
CV	*Cūlavaṁsa*.
DB	*Dialogues of the Buddha*, T.W. Rhys Davids.
DC	*The Debates Commentary*, B.C. Law.
DEBS	*Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha*, G.De.
DHP	*Dhammapada*, Ven. Acharya Buddharakkhita Thera.
Dhs	*Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, E. Muller.
DhsA or DhsAK	*Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā*.
DN	*Dīgha Nikāya*, T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter.
DP	*Dhammapada*.
DPK	*Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, ed. H.C. Nerman and L.S. Tailang.
DPL	*A Dictionary of the Pali Language*, R.C.Childers.
DPPN	*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, G.P. Malalasekera.
DPRD	*The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, Amaradasa Liyanagamage.
DPV	Dīpavaṁsa, B.C. Law.
DPVMhv	*Dīpavaṁsa, and Mahāvaṁsa*, W. Geiger.
DTV	*Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and R. Merris.
EB	*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera.

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EMLB	*The Eternal Message of Lord Buddha*, Silananda Brahmachari.
ER	*Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade
GV	*Gandhavaṁsa*, Minayaff.
HB	*History of Burma*, G.E. Harvey.
HC	*History of Ceylon*, H.C. Ray and S. Paranavitana.
HHBP	*Heaven and Hall in Buddhist Perspective*, B.C. Law.
HIL	*History of Indian Literature*, M. Winternitz.
HPL	*A History of Pali Literature, Vol. I & II*, B.C. Law.
HVGVV	*Hatthavanagallavihāravaṁsa*, C.E. Gadakumbura.
IC	*Indian Culture.*
ICP	*An Introduction to Comparative Philology*, N.P. Gune.
ICS	*The Indian Colony of Siam*, P.N. Bose
IEGKS	*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their successors*, John F. Fleet.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
ISTBB	*An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, N.R.Ray.
IV	*Itivuttaka.*
IVP	*Introduction to the Vinaya Piṭaka*, H. Oldenberg.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JDPUC	*Journal of the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta.*
JKK	*Jātakaṭṭhakathā.*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society.*
JRASGBI	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society.*
KDP	*Khuddakapāṭha.*
KVPA	*Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaaṭṭhakathā.*
Karunaratne	W.S. Karunaratne.

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LWB	*The Life and works of Buddhaghosa*, B.C. Law.
MB	*The Mahabodhi.*
MhvSB	*Mahāvaṁsa*, H. Sumangala and Batuvantudave.
MhvT	*Mahāvaṁsa- ṭīkā.*
MhvW	*Mahāvāṁsa*, L.C. Wijesinha.
MIB	*A Manual of Indian Buddhism*, H. Kern.
MN	*Majjhima Nikāya*. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers.
MP	*Milinda Pañha*, V. Trenckner.
MRP	*Manorathapuraṇi*, ed. Max Walleser.
OBI	*Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, B.M. Barua.
OCC	*On the Chronicles of Ceylon*, B.C. Law.
ODBL	*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Suniti kumar Chatterjee.
PC	*Paints of Centroversy*, Mr. S. Zaung and Mr. Rhys Davids.
PED	*Pali-English Dictionary*, T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede.
PG	*Pali Grammar*, Minayeff.
PLB	*The Pali Literature of Burma*, M.H. Bode.
PLC	*The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, G.P. Malalasakera.
PLL	*Pali Literature and language*, W. Geiger.
PMJ	*Paramatthajotikā*, Welipitiya Devananda Thera.
PPS	*Papañcasūdanī.*
PS	*Pali and Sanskrit*, R.O. Franka.
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East.*
SDS	*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, N. Saddnanda.
SGEC	*The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, N.A. Jayawickrema.
SGPL	*Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, E. Muller.
SGV	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.*
SHVI	*Sammohavinodanī.*

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SIAD	*A Simple Introduction to Abhidhamma*, Vem. Narada Mahathara.
SKC	Lecture Notes delivered by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in M.A. Classes.
SN	*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, L. Feer and Mrs. Rhys Davids.
SNP	*Sutta Nipāta.*
SOS	*Some observations on the Sangitivamsa*, K.L. Hazra.
SPC	*Studies on Pali Commentaries*, K.L. Hazra
SPD	*Samantapāsādikā.*
SPS	*Sāratthappakasini.*
SSFACP	*The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commamorative Publication*, Bangkok, 1954.
SVD	*Sammohavinodani.*
SV	*Sāsanavaṃsa*, M. Bode.
URPAA	*Une Recension Palio Des Annales d'Ay-thia*, G. Coedes.
Udāna	*Udāna.*
VDM	*Visuddhimagga.*
VMSP	*Vaṁsatthappakāsini*, ed. G.P. Malalasekara.
VP	*Vinaya Piṭaka*, H. Oldenberg.
Vivaṅga	*Vivaṅga*, Mrs. Rhys Davids.

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1

A History and Structure of the Pāli Language

The Meaning of the Word 'Pāli'

THE word 'Pāli' (which is an abbreviation for '*Pālibhāṣā*') is the language of the *Tripiṭaka* (or the *Tipiṭaka*), the sacred scriptures or the Buddhist canon of Southern Buddhism.[1] It is mentioned here in the sense of 'texts' or 'sacred text',[2] '*pāṭhe iti pi pāli* ', 'reading' '*ayam pi pāṭho*'. We can say, "that which preserves or says meaningful discourses", "*atthavā pāti rakkhati iti tasmā Pāli.*[3] The word is derived from the causative base of $\sqrt{pā}$ — to protect.[4] A grammatical work says *saddattham pālatiti Pāli*, "text is so called because it protects the sense of the words" or it preserves the importance of words.[5] European scholars have made a derivation from Pāli. They say, "a row (*paṅkti*) or line of leaves of a book itself; and lastly the canon embodied in the book and its language".[6] There is also another derivation from *prakata, pāada, pāala*, and *pāla*. It informs us that Pāli means language of the common people.[7] A Buddhist scholar named Kosambi mentions that the name is derived from the root *pāl* to protect, to preserve and originally means the book or literature in which the preservation of the Buddhist canon has taken place.[8] He says further that the Great Commentator Buddhaghosa describes the *Tipiṭaka* or its language by the name Pāli.[9] It means the text of the Buddhist scriptures. According to some scholars, 'Pāli' takes its meaning from 'path' or 'village'.[10] For it being popular speech and rustic in character it is known as Pāli.[11] It is to be noted here that '*path*' to 'Pāli' gives too many irregularities, "the loss of one '*t*' with one accompanying lengthening of '*a*' to '*ā*' and the compensation and shortening of the final '*ī* ".[12] It is interesting to note here that

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Pāli was known by itself without any word like '*bhāṣā*' or '*vacana*' which was added after it.[13] It is not a rustic speech. It can be mentioned here as an elaborate language even in the Buddhist canon.[14]

It is said that Pali is derived from '*pañkti* '. But in Pāli '*Pañkti* ' is known as '*panti* ', and phonologically it is impossible when we see that *pañkti* is Pāli.[15] Max Wallesser, a scholar from Germany, says that Pāli is derived from the name of the city of Pāṭaliputra, which is known in Greek translation as Pālibothra.[16] He describes, "Pāli is contracted from *Pāṭali* or *Pāḍali* and the assumption is that it was a language of Pāṭaliputra".[17] He thinks that the word '*Pāṭali* ' in Pāṭaliputra became Indian in Indian mouths and Pāli was Magadha's language and Pāṭaliputra was Magadha's capital.[18] But in Indian methods the word '*Pāṭali* ' has not changed into Pāli. It is known as "*Pāḍali* " in later Prākṛt and from this we have '*Pāḷali* ' in old Bengali and it is '*pārula* ' in modern Bengali.[19] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee describes,[20] "But this derivation of Pāli has been more satisfactorily given by the old scholars from $\sqrt{pā}$ (to protect) and *pātali* cannot give Pāli in middle Indo Aryan". The word 'Pāṭaliputra' is known as 'Pāḍalibutra' or 'Paḍlibutra' and then it is called 'Pallibutra'. From it we get the word '*Pālibothra* ' in Greek translation.[21] It is difficult to say that Pāli has taken its name from a city called Pāṭaliputra which in Greek is Pālibothra. Thus from the above facts we can say that the word 'Pāli' can be used here in the sense of 'texts'. E.J. Thomas[22] states that Dr. Wallesser did not give any evidence to remind that Pali was used as a language of the commentaries. Neither he mentions it nor he tries to put before us a single example to indicate that the commentator contrasted Pāli language with some other.

B.C. Law gives an account of the origin of Pāli. He says,[23] "The term *Pālibhāṣā*[24] or Pāli language is a comparatively modern coinage". Whether the credit of this misleading coinage is due to the European orientalists or to the latter-day Buddhist *theras* of Ceylon, Burma (now Myanmar), and Siam, is still a matter of dispute. It is certain, however, that even up to the sixth or seventh century A.D., the term Pāli does not appear to have gained currency as a nomenclature for any kind of language. Even if we look into the *Cūlavaṃsa* forming a later supplement to the *Mahāvaṃsa* we find that the term Pāli is used in it clearly in the sense of original

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Buddhist texts, the texts of the canon, as distinguished from the commentaries:

'*Pālimattaṁ idhānītaṁ natthi aṭṭhakathā idha*' — only the Pāli has been brought over here from Ceylon but not the commentaries.[25] The term Pāli has been used in the sense of the original authoritative text of the canon in several passages in the commentaries. In the *Visuddhimagga*,[26] we see at page 107 "*Idaṁ sabbākārena nova Pāḷiyaṃ, na aṭṭhakathāyaṃ, āgataṁ, kevalaṃ ācariyamatānusārena vuttaṁ, tasmā na sārate paccetabbaṁ*", and at page 450 of this work we also see "*Imāni tāva pāḷiyaṃ: aṭṭhakathāyam pana: aññāni pirūpāni āharitvā*". Buddhaghosa in his *Puggala-Paññatti* commentary also gives a similar distinction between the Pāli and the *aṭṭhakathā* on the one hand and between the *aṭṭhakathā* and, *ācariyamata* on the other: "(1) *Pālimuttakena pana aṭṭhakathānayena*, p. 171; (2) *aṭṭhakathāmuttakena pana ācariyanayena*, p. 173".[27] B.C. Law describes,[28] "As a matter of fact, the earliest issue of the term Pāli can be traced in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and not in any earlier Buddhist writings. It is again in the commentaries that the term Pāli came to be regarded as a synonym for *Buddhavacana, Tripitaka, tanti*, and *pariyatti*. The transition from Pāli the text, to Pāli the language came about sooner or later by a natural process. Although the conscious attempt on the part of the commentators was to keep the term Pāli dissociated from its linguistic implication, they felt constrained to commit themselves to such an expression as *tantibhāsā* in order to distinguish the language of the Pāli or the text of the canon from *Sīhalabhāsā* or the Sinhalese language. The language of the Pāli itself was characterised by them as *Māgadhi-nirutti* or the *Māgadhī* idiom. In *tantibhāsā* they attained a coinage approaching *Pālibhāsā* or Pāli language. And the other term *Māgadhi* or *Māgadhinirutti* was held out by them as a word of praise, claiming thereby as they actually did, that the *Māgadhi* idiom of the Pāli texts was the *mūlabhāsā* or the primary speech of all men. . .".

According to scholars, the idea of *Māgadhinirutti* was introduced by the Sinhalese monks.[29] Even some people think that this was an invention of Buddhaghosa.[30] The Buddha was regarded as the religious reformer of Magadha which was ruled by Bimbisāra. But, even then, it was not clear whether *Māgadhika* form of speech was the language of the Buddha and that of the

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Buddhist canon. From the *Vinaya* passage we learn that the teachings of the Buddha were promulgated through the medium of *Sakānirutti* instead of translating them into *chandasa*.[31] The *Vinaya* describes, "*Na bhikkhave Buddhavacanaṃ chandasa aropetabbaṁ. Yo ārepeyya, āpatti dukkatassa. Anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṁ pariyāpunituṁ*".[32] According to Buddhaghosa,[33] *chandasa* was in the sense of Sanskrit language which was used "as a diction of the *Vedas*" "*Vedaṃ viya sakkatabhāsāya vācanāmaggaṃ*". He says further that '*sakānirutti*' gives that form of the *Māgadhaka* dialect which was adopted by the Buddha himself, "*ettha sakāniruttināma sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro māgadhako vehāro*".[34] From the above facts we learn that *chandasa* was used as a synonym for the Sanskrit language and *sakānirutti* was used as a synonym for the *Māgadhī* dialect. It is to be noted here that *Sanskritabhāṣā* was originated not before the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini, but it appeared after them.[35] In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, which was written in Sanskrit, we see the division of *bhāṣā*, i.e., Sanskrit into *Vedic* or *Vaidika* and current (*laukika*) and by the term *chandasa*, he wanted to differentiate the *Vedic* language from the current form of Sanskrit.[36] This shows the use of *chandasa* in the sixth century B.C. B.C. Law[37] describes, "With the Buddha *Chandasa* or *Vedic* language was the prototype of languages that had become archaic and obsolete, dead as distinguished from living speech. It is beyond our comprehension how Buddhaghosa went so far as to suggest that by the term *sakānirutti*, the Buddha meant his own medium of instruction and nothing but *Māgadhaka* or the *Māgadhī* dialect'. Nothing would have been more distant from the intention of a rational thinker like the Buddha than to commit himself to such an opinion which is irrational, erroneous and dogmatic. He could not have done so without doing violence to his position as a *sammādiṭṭhika* and *Vibhajjavādin*. To give out that the *Māgadhī* is the only correct form of speech for the promulgation of his teachings and every other dialect would be the incorrect form is a *micchādiṭṭhi* or erroneous opinion. Buddhaghosa has misled us all. To rightly interpret the injunction of the Buddha, we should first of all look into the context. The circumstances that led the Buddha to lay down the injunction are stated as follows:

"*tena kho pana samayena yameḷutekulā nāma bhikkhu dve bhātikā honti brāhmaṇa jātikā kalyāṇavācā kalyāṇavākkaraṇā. Te yena bhagavā ten' upa saṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā*

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bhagavantaṃ abhivādetavā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, ekamantaṃ nisinnā khe te bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ etad avecuṃ: etarahi bhante bhikkhū nānānāmā nānāgottā nānājaccā nānākulā pabbajita, te sakāya niruttiya buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti. Handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti. Vīgarahi buddho bhagavā. Kathañ hi nāma tumhe meghapurisā evaṃ vakkhatha; handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti ". "At that time the two brothers who were *bhikhus* of the yamaḷutekula were of *brahmin* origin and spoke and talked of good only. They approached the Buddha where he was, and having approached the Blessed One saluted and sat on one side. These *bhikkhus* who were seated on one side spoke to the Blessed One thus, "Venerable sir, these *bhikkhus* who embraced *pabbajjā*, possess different names and are of different lineages, births and families. They are polluting the Buddha's words by preaching them in their own local dialects. And now venerable sir, we shall render the Buddha's words into *chandaso*". But the Buddha rebuked the *bhikkhus* thus, "How you foolish persons speak thus: And now venerable sir, we shall render the Buddha's words into *chandaso* (one who knows the *Vedas*)" ".[38]

Thus from the above facts we can say that the term *sakānirutti* was a mode of expression, an idiom, a diction, a language or a vehicle of expression. B.C. Law states,[39] "The term *sakānirutti* just means a mode of expression which a member of the Holy Order might claim as his own, that is to say, an idiom, a diction, a language or a vehicle of expression with which a *bhikkhu* was conversant, which a person could use with advantage, a mode of expression which was not Buddha's own but which might be regarded as one by the *Bhikkhus* representing diverse names, cultures, races and families. One's mother tongue or vernacular would also be an interpretation of *sakānirutti* inconsistent with the context as well as with the Buddha's spirit of rationalism. We mean that it could not have been the intention of the Buddha to restrict the study and elucidations of his teachings to any particular language or to any particular dialect, consistently with the general toner of his thoughts and teachings, we may interpret his injunction as implying that, avoiding a language which has became dead, archaic and obsolete, one should use with advantage a vehicle of expression with which one is really conversant".

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W. Geiger says that if we accept Pāli as the form of *Māgadhī* which was used by the Buddha, then we can mention the Pāli canon as the most authentic form of the *Buddhavacana*. He says,[40] "If Pāli is the form of the *Māgadhī* used by the Buddha, then the Pāli canon would have to be regarded as the most authentic form of the *Buddhavacanaṃ*, even though the teachings of the Master might have been preached and learnt from the very beginning in the various provinces of India in the respective local dialects. This conclusion has been drawn — wrongly, in my opinion — from the *Cullavagga*, v. 33. 1 — *Vin.* II, 139. Here it is related, how two *Bhikkhus* complained to the master that the members of the Order were of various origins, and that they distorted the words of Buddha by their own dialect (*sakāya niruttiyā*). They therefore proposed that the words of Buddha should be translated into Sanskrit verses (*chandasa*). Buddha however refused to grant the request and added: *annujānāmi kābhikkhavo sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpunituṃ*. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg[41] translate this passage by "I allow you, oh brethren, to learn the words of the Buddhas each in his own dialect". This interpretation however is not in harmony with that of Buddhaghosa, according to whom it has to be translated by "I ordain the words of Buddha to be learnt in his own language (i.e., *Māgadhī*, the language used by Buddha himself)". After repeated examinations of this passage I have come to the conclusion that we have to stick to the explanation given by Buddhaghosa. Neither the two monks nor Buddha himself could have thought of preaching in different dialects in different cases. Here the question is merely whether the words of Buddha might be translated into Sanskrit or not. This is however clearly forbidden by the Master, at first negatively and then positively by the injunction beginning with *anujānāmi*. The real meaning of this injunction is, as is also best in consonance with Indian spirit that there can be no other form of the words of Buddha than in which the Master himself had preached. Thus even in the life-time of Buddha people were concerned about the way in which his teaching might be handed down as accurately as possible, both in form and in content. How much more must have been the anxiety of the disciples after his death. The external form was however *Māgadhi*, though according to tradition it is Pāli". Rev. R. Siddhartha gives an account of the origin and development of Pāli language with special reference to Sanskrit Grammar. He says,[42] "Pāli is one of the oldest of Indian languages of which we

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have records at the present-day. Its real name, that is the name by which it was known to those who used it, was *Māgadhī*, or *Magadhabhāṣā* (i.e. *Māgadhese* or the language of the people of Magadha country). In fact it was never known as Pāli amongst the ancient writers either in India or in Ceylon. It is only in comparatively recent times that this language has been referred to as Pāli, and that, too, only in the conversational parlance and not in literature. Even such late writers as Sri Sumaṅgala *Mahā Thera* of the Vidyodaya College of our days have never referred to this language as Pāli (*cf. The Commentary on Bālāvatāra* by Sri Sumaṅgala *Saṅghanāyaka Thera*). In the Sinhalese literature also, both of modern and ancient days, we never find that this language is referred to as Pāli.

What, then, the word Pāli really means, how the word originated and how it has come to be used as a name of the language in which the sacred Texts of Buddhism are recorded, may here be briefly traced and explained.

The word Pāli always means the text, specially the Text of the Buddhist Scripture. Compare the following expressions: "*Pālimahābhidhammassa*" (Recited the text of *Abhidhamma*) *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. 37, Verse 221; "*Pālimattaṁ idhānitaṁ*" (only the text has been brought here), *Ibid.*, Verse, 227; "*Neva pāḷiyaṁ na aṭṭhakathāyaṁ dissati* " (It is to be found neither in the text nor in the commentary) — *Sāmaññaphalasuttaṭṭhakathā*. Again, this word, Pāli, is interchangeable with *Pātha* which is also found in the same form and in the same or similar sense in Sanskrit. There is also a word as Pāli in Sanskrit which means a line, a row, a boundary or an edge and the like, and never anything like a text or a sacred saying. The great commentator, Buddhaghosa *Mahā Thera* has often used the words Pāli and *Pāṭha* in one and the same sense throughout his commentaries. (*Cf.* "*Setakāni aṭṭhīni etthā'ti seta*ṭ*ṭhikā . . . seta*ṭ*ṭikā'ti pipāṭho*"— *Samantapāsādikā-Verañjakaṇḍavaṇṇanā. Apagatakājako'ti, kālakā vuccanti dussilā . . . tesaṁ abhāvā apagatakā ako; apahatakālako'tipi pāṭha.*" *Ibid.* "*Mahaaccarājānubhāvenā'ti mahatā rājānubhāvena. Mahaccā iti'pi Pāli, mahatiyāti attho.*" *Sāmaññaphalasuttavaṇṇanā of the Sāmaṅgalavilāsinī*). The later commentators also found these two words interchangeable. (*Cf. Paramatthadīpanī*, the commentary on the *Therīgāthā*, "*Ayācitotatāgacchī'ti', tato paralokato kenaci ayācito idhā āgacchi, āgato'ti'pi pāḷī*" and in the same book,

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"Tattha aṭṭā'ti aṭṭitā, ayameva vā pāṭho."

Thus it is clear that the word Pāli and *Pāṭha* in the so-called Pāli language are very closely connected in sense and in use. So it is certain that these two words are either of the same origin or one is derived from the other. But we do not know of a word in Sanskrit or in the *Vedic* language which can produce these two forms whereas we know that the word *Pātha* in Sanskrit (I mean both the Classical and the *Vedic*) is a very old one which had been often used to indicate the *Vedavākya* (the text of the *Veda*, as well as reading, studying or reciting the *Veda*). This word seems to have been popularly used in the sense of the Sacred Texts by the people of ancient India and afterwards was borrowed by the early Buddhists to denote their Sacred Texts. We know very well that the first followers of the Buddha were at first believers of the *Veda* and were mostly *Brāhmaṇas*. When they changed their faith, they employed the words they used to indicate the sacred objects of their former religion to denote those of their new faith. Thus the words such as *Muni Tapodhana, Tapasvī, Pravrajita, Śramaṇa*, etc. indicating the ascetics of the pre-Buddhistic religious orders continued to be used for the disciples of the Buddha. Even such words as *Tantra, Saṁhitā* and *Pravacana* we find were often used to indicate the *Buddhavacana* (the doctrine of the Buddha) in their modified forms as *Sahita. Tanti* and *Pāvacana* (*Cf. "Appampice sahitaṁ bhāsamāno." Dhammapada* and *"Apanetvāna tato'haṁ-Sīhalabhāsaṁ manoramdṁ bhāsaṁ, Tantinayāmucc- havikaṁ — Āropento vigatadosaṁ"*; the opening lines in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and *"Atitasatthukakaṁ pāvacanaṁ.* "Commentary on the *Brahmajāla sutta*). When such words as *Tantra* and *Saṁhitā* which are simply names of certain parts of the *Veda* are borrowed and utilised for the Buddhist texts, no surprise can be felt if they should borrow a more general and more common word such as *Pāṭha* for the *Buddhavacana*. The use of such words that have gathered some honorific or Sacred sense for objects for which men feel some veneration is human nature and it is psychologically supported. In languages there are words which have gathered some special sense of awe and reverence. Men, when they feel reverence for some new things, invariably apply those words to these new objects even if they know very well that tradition does not sanction it. This is because they feel that they must not refer to them by the ordinary words. Even to-day in Ceylon the newly converted Christians use all the honorific terms of the Sinhalese

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language which are of Buddhist origin and denoting in most cases Buddhist objects with Buddhistic ideas in referring to the objects of the Christian religion. This may be sometimes a figurative way of using words to denote objects of veneration, but it is very freely done and there is no other way of referring to them either to convey veneration or to express awe and respect. This was exactly the attitude of the early Buddhists, and they were quite correct in it. These there shall be no doubt that the old word *Pātha* meaning the *Veda* Text has been taken by the Buddhists in a modified form as *Pāli* to refer to the Buddhist Text in the same way as *Tanti* (from *Tantra*), *Sahita* (from *Saṁhitā*), and *Pāvacana* (from *Pravacana*).

But then the question arises whether the phonetic laws of the Indian languages would permit such a change. When we investigate into that branch of Philology we can see that the change of '*ṭha*' into "*ḷ*" is but a very common phenomenon in these languages. We find that all the cerebral consonants of the old language change into *ḷ* in the later languages. For example, *Āṭavika* (born or dwelling in the forest) in Sanskrit is *Āḷavika* in Pāli, *Paṭaccara* (old cloth or rag) in Sanskrit is *Pajaccara* in Pāli, *Kriḍā* (sport, amusement play) in Sanskrit is *Kīḷā* or *Keḷi* in Pāli, *Eḍaka* (goat) in Sanskrit is *Eḷaka* in Pāli, *Veṇu* (bamboo) in Sanskrit is *Veḷu* in Pāli, *Dṛḍha* (hard, firm) in Sanskrit is *Daḷha* (with *h* to represent the aspiration in the original) in Pāli. If this is the rule *Pāṭha* can easily become *Pāḷa* and then into Pāli with the final '*a*' changed into '*i*'. This sort of changes of final vowels are not at all unusual in Pāli as well as in other Prākṛts. (*Cf. Kriḍā-Kīlā-Keḷi, Aṅgula — Aṅguli* or *Angulī, Sarvajña-Sabbaññū*, etc.). Such changes are in some cases, due to the influence of the preceding vowels and in other cases, due to analogy, but in most cases no reason whatever is apparent. In the present case, however we can find the reason for the change of the final vowel and that is the analogy. We know that there is in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli a word in the form of Pāli which is, of course, altogether of different origin and of different sense, but which is very common and very popular. There is no doubt that it is this word, Pāli, which has analogically influenced the form of *Pāḷa* into *Pāḷi*. This is proved beyond any doubt by the pitiful confusion of these two words, Pāli and Pāḷi by the older as well as the later writers. I quote below the full note given in the *Abhidhammappadīpikā Sūci* where all what is known to the ancient and modern scholars about this word is given:

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Pāḷi-Pā Rakkhaṇe, ḷi; Pāti, rakkhatī'ti, Pāḷi, Pālī'ti ekacce. Tanti, Buddhavacanaṁ, Panti, Pāli. (Bhagavatā vuccamānassa atthassa vohārassa ca dīpanato Saddoyeva Pāḷi nāmā'ti gaṇṭhipadesu vuttaṁ'ti Abhidhammaṭṭhakathāya likhitaṁ);

"Pāḷi saddo Pāliddhamme-taḷākapāḷiyampi ca,
Dissate pantiyaṁ ceva-iti ñeyyaṁ vijānatā."

Ayaṁ hi Pāḷisaddo, Pāḷiyā atthaṁ upaparikkhanti 'ti ādisu pariyattidhamma saṅkhāte pāḷidhamme dissati; "Mahato taḷākassa pāḷī'ti ādisu taḷākākapāḷiyaṁ; Pāḷiyā nisīdiṁsū'ti ādisu, paṭipātiyā nisīdimsū'ti attho, imasmim panatthe dhātuyā kiccaṁ natthi, paṭipāṭiko hi pantivācako pāḷisaddo; pariyatti-dhammavācake pāḷisadde, atthaṁ pāti, rakkhatīti pālī'ti ca, antodakaṁ rakkhaṇatthena mahato taḷākassa thirā mahatī pāli viyā'ti pālī'ti ca, pakaṭṭhānaṁ ukkaṭṭhānaṁ sīḷādiatthānaṁ bodhanato sabhāvaniruttibhāvato Buddhādīhi bhāsitattā ca, pakaṭṭhānaṁ vacanappabandhānaṁ āḷī'ti pālī'ti ca nibbacanāni veditabbāni."

No more proof, I think, is necessary to show how badly the words Pāḷi and Pāli have been confused owing to the ignorance of their origin. The weak pronunciation of '*ḷ*' of the Sinhalese also, I suppose, has to do something with this confusion. In later times they pronounced both '*ḷ*' and '*ḷ*' in the same way. Their weak pronunciation and the consequent confusion of these two consonants have led them so far as to make a grammatical rule (*Cf.* '*Laḷānamaviseso*') to say that there is no difference between the '*ḷ*' and "*ḷ*'. It is to be noted here that this '*ḷ*' in Pāli (as well as *ṅ* in Sinhalese) represents the *Vedic* '*ḷ*' (such as in *Agnimīḷe*) on the one hand, and '*ḍ*' found in many of the Aryan vernaculars in Northern India on the other hand.

Thus we find no difficulty in concluding that the word Pāḷi denoting *Buddhavacana* is derived from *Pāṭha* and though its form is thus changed it is still keeping the same sense and use. The application of this term as the name of the language in which the Buddhist Texts are composed is simply figurative. Its real name, as I have once mentioned, is *Māgadhī*. It is also called *Suddha Māgadhī* (i.e., Refined *Māgadhī*) just to distinguish it either from its more corrupted later form known by the same name, or from

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the *Grāmya* type (i.e., the colloquial type) of the same language used by the ordinary uneducated people and represented by the words of Makkhalī Gosāla and others quoted in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* and some other places in the Buddhist Canon.

As regards the origin of this language there is nothing more to be added to what has been said by Dr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* and by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in the Introduction to his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. The only thing I have to tell is that it was the *Śabhya Bhāṣā* (or the refined form of the language) of the people of Northern India in the 7th century B.C. It is to be added here that in Northern India at the time of the Buddha there was only one language spoken by the Aryans with only very little dialectical differences. If we compare the edicts of Aśoka inscribed on the rocks and pillars in different places of his kingdom we can see how little these dialects which were known as *Deśabhāṣās* differed from one another. Now, Aśoka ruled more than two centuries after the demise of the Buddha in whose times these differences must have been less. All these *Deśabhāṣās* (i.e., the Provincial types of the language) were surely confined to different provinces known as *Janapadas* but all had one *Sabhyabhāṣā* which was like the literary language of our day, and which was known alike by all the people. This *Sabhyabhāṣā* was not the household speech of any people. But it was the refined form of speech used in assemblies, and the medium of communication between different peoples. It is through this language, no doubt, that the disciples of the Buddha who hailed from different walks of life and different parts of the country, learnt and preached the doctrine of the Buddha. This is proved by the following statement in the *Cullavagga*, one of the oldest of the Buddhist canons: "*Anujānāmi. Bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṁ pariyāpuṇituṁ*" (I enjoin, O *Bhikkhus*, to study the *Buddhavacana* in "own language"). Here the great scholar Buddhaghosa *Mahā Thera* is quite correct in commenting on the words "*Sakāya niruttiyā*" as, "*Ettha sakā nirutti nāmasammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhako vobāro.*" There is no doubt that by "*Sakā nirutti* ", the Buddha had referred to the standard vernacular in which he preached and which was used in the country of Magadha and which was the common medium of communication of the people of the whole of the *Āryāvarta*, a *Lingua Franca* of India, a refined and elegant vernacular of all Aryan-speaking people. It is highly improbable

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that the Buddha by "*Sakā nirutti* " referred to "Own colloquial tongues" of his disciples who had come from the different parts of India including the Drāviḍa and the Yavana countries. He prohibited the translating of His words even into Sanskrit by the canonical rule, "*Na, Bhikkhave, Buddhavacanaṁ chandaso āropetabbaṁ, yo āropeyya āpatti dukkaṭassa.*" Now, if he did not like the translation of his words into such an elegant and honoured language as Sanskrit in which all the other sacred works of the Aryans were composed, could it be supposed that he would allow his words to be translated into some ordinary colloquial tongue where most of the words had changed their original meaning and force. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Buddha preached his doctrine in the standard vernacular of the Magadha country and his disciple studied and taught it in that very language.

The next question is where this language came from and what its exact relation was to the other languages known to the Aryans of India.

We know very well that in those days there was a language in India which was regarded as holy and sacred and the study of which was prohibited to others than the twice-born and in which the *Vedas* and the connected sciences were composed. This language was then known as *Chandas*, which, afterwards having been refined by Pāṇini came to be known as *Saṁskṛta*. This language, long ago, was the common tongue of all the Aryans of India. When time passed on, owing to the phonetic and semitic changes, this took different shapes and forms, and at one stage it took the form of what is called *Māgadhī*, the subject of our discussion here. The older form, although existing side by side appeared to be quite different from the new, owing to the numerous changes that had meanwhile taken place, and the ordinary people never knew that their forefathers spoke that language. Now this language was in earlier days known by the name of *Ariyaka* (*Āryaka*), i.e., the language of the Āryas (the Aryans). (*Cf. Ariyakena vā vadati milakkhakena vā . . . paccakkhātā hoti sikkhā-Paṭhamapārājikavaṇṇanā* in the *Samantapāsādikā*). The name *Chandas* as used by the Buddha and Pāṇini is a later one, and the name *Saṁskṛta* is the latest which came to be given to it after Pāṇini had refined it. It is to be noted here that the word *Chandas*, just like the word Pāli,

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originally meant not a language, but the holy scripture of the *Brāhmaṇas*. But afterwards it was used frequently to indicate the language in which the holy scriptures were composed. It is clear that the *Māgadhī* or *Magadhabhāṣā* is nothing but a later form of the *Āryaka* or the *Āryabhāṣā* which was in later times known as *Chandas* or *Chandobhāṣā* which name it naturally got just to distinguish it from the *Laukika bhāṣā*, i.e., the vernacular languages of the day (such as *Māgadhī*). This *Māgadhī*, now known as Pāli, in its turn became subject to phonetic and semitic laws and changed into different forms in different countries and at different stages and appeared in the forms of Hindi, Bengali, Sinhalese, etc.

It is necessary, I suppose, to note here that the word '*Saṁskṛta*' that we now use both for the classical and the *Vedic* language is a misnomer. It must be used only for the Classical Sanskrit which properly got that name because of the *Saṁskaraṇa* (refinement) that Pāṇini effected, and it should never be used for the old *Āryabhāṣā* in which the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads* were written. This misuse of the term is often misleading to students, and even some of the Oriental *Paṇḍits* who have no knowledge of Philology or modern science of language have been led astray. It is, therefore, highly advisable now to revert to the old name of the *Vedic* language by which it was known to Pāṇini himself and thus avoid all confusion.

How and why this language got this name, *Māgadhī*, is not difficult to explain. In the life-time of the Buddha, Magadha became the most powerful kingdom of Northern India after the conquest of the vast kingdom of Kośala and the Vajjian republic. A short time after his demise it became the leading kingdom not only of India but also among the countries around. Its ruler was the emperor of the whole of India and his sway was felt by all rulers both in India and outside. Its civilisation was the highest and it was copied by the whole world. Its sciences, its philosophies, its Arts, were the best in the then known world, and its name was almost synonymous with that of *Jambudvīpa*, i.e., India, specially of Northern India in which it was situated. Though the Magadha *Janapada* was not very big, the Magadha *Rājya*, the kingdom of Magadha, that is the country under the rule of the king of Magadha was as big as India. So, anything good, anything admirable in India surely might have gone by the name of

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Magadha. This being the case the dialect of Magadha must have been the most refined of the Aryan Vernaculars in India and it must have been the common medium of communication for all the Indian Aryans and for those who were under the Aryan sway politically and culturally. At the time when this language was thus a common tongue the Aryan dialects of Northern India were not very much different from one another. So, *Māgadhī* or *Magadhabhāṣā* might have been considered by all the people who spoke *Āryabhāṣā* as the refined form of their own dialects and thus it became a name for that refined and elegant form of the vernacular. Again, this form of language could not have been confined to Magadha alone as a dialect; it must have been used in the same form by the people of the surrounding countries such as, Kāśī, Kośala, Vajji, Śākya, Koliya, and Vatsa, as these countries closely followed the civilisation of Magadha. The Buddha preached his doctrine in this language about four hundred years before it got its name. At the time when the Buddha preached, its name was simply *Āryaka* (*Āryabhāṣā*) or *Sakabhāṣā* (the language of the people). By the time Magadha became the predominant country the form in which it was used by the Buddha must have been slightly changed, but it was, no doubt, still the *Sabhyabhāṣā*, or at least the most respected form of the *Sabhyabhāṣā* of the Āryan people. A question then may be asked that if this was the *Sabhyabhāṣā* known to the people of Magadha in the days of the Magadhan empire, why the inscriptions of Aśoka should be in somewhat deteriorated form and not exactly in this form. The answer is, that those inscriptions were meant not only for the people of high and refined life, but also for those of the ordinary life. So, Aśoka was compelled to write them not only in the ordinary language but also in the different dialects that were in use in different parts of his vast empire. This we can easily understand if we compare his inscriptions found in different parts of his empire. The fact that Aśoka himself knew the language of Pāli (i.e., Buddhist texts) is clear from his reference to some of the *Suttas* of the Text by their names, such as, *Ariyavasāni, Anāgatabhayāni, Rāghulovādasutta*, etc. It might also have been that these names were in the language of Pāli such as *Ariyavaṁsāni, Anāgatabhayāni, Rāghulovādasuttaṁ*, etc. but the *Anusvāra* in the first two forms and the *Anusvāra* and the sign of re-duplication of '*t*' in the latter might have been lost by the effects of time and weather. Even if he had quoted the names of these

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suttas in their colloquial forms there would be nothing strange as we even today do the same thing when referring to most of the familiar *suttas* of the canon in the Sinhalese forms of their names, such as *Damsakpevatum Sūtraya, Vyāghrapadya Sūtraya* and so on. This is because the ordinary people, as they usually do with other Pāli and Sanskrit words, changed those forms in their mouth into those which were either familiar to them or which were easy for them to pronounce. If we consider for a moment what the foreigners do with the English words that creep into common use we should not at all be surprised about it. Sometimes they mutilate words without having a trace of their origin. The familiarity of Aśoka with the Buddhist Texts can further be proved by the many and various expressions that he had bodily borrowed from the Buddhist Scripture and used in his inscriptions.

Thus we find that the language which we now call Pāli was the refined popular language of the people of Northern India at the time when Buddha was born. It afterwards split up into different vernaculars or rather was absorbed by different dialects and vernaculars, such as, *Śauraseni, Gauḍi, Lāṭi*, etc. which in their turn gave birth to the different dialects of Vernaculars in Northern India, such as, Hindi, Gujrati, Bengali and, for a matter of that, Sinhalese also. In this connection I may quote Robert Caesar Childers, one of the great Pāli scholars in Europe, who says, "What Pāli would have become, had it run on unchecked in its course of decay and regeneration may be seen from the modern Sinhalese, which springs from an idiom closely allied to Pāli, and has long passed into the analytical stage." He is quite correct in his view because Sinhalese is one of the modern Aryan dialects which had been least influenced by Non-Aryan languages such as Semitic, Mongolian, etc. The only influence on it was from Tamil and allied Dravidian tongues, but this influence is confined only to the spoken dialect, and the literary dialect even up to this day shows very little influence from that quarter. This is because the Aryan settlers in Ceylon were very proud of their high race and did not like to be mixed with the Dravidians in any way. They entertained from the beginning of their settlement in Ceylon very bitter feelings against their powerful neighbours with whom they were quarrelling and fighting up to very recent times. Till the British advent the relation between the Aryan settlers in Ceylon and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Dravidian country was hostile and so anything Dravidian they learned to hate. In spite of

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this ill feeling the Sinhalese could not altogether avoid the influence of this powerful and civilized neighbour who sometimes as conquerors, at other times as traders, but mostly as labourers, menials and fishermen poured down to Ceylon and settled there. From these the Sinhalese unconsciously and unwittingly borrowed many customs and manners along with the words appropriate to them which exist here and there in the colloquial tongue. But the literary language, especially of the earlier and middle periods, is quite free from such influence. It is to be added here that the Protuguese and the Dutch and also the English today have given their quota to our language, but this, too, is confined to the colloquial dialect only.

The relation between Pāli and Sanskrit must have been sufficiently understood from what I have said above. This relation obviously is very close. Both are branches from the same stem and both were used by the same people at the same time but for two different purposes — one as a medium of conversation and the other for recording scientific and philosophical discoveries, in other words, one as a common language and the other as a sacred language; one was moulded and refined by the common people and the other by the learned people of the community; one being subject to the natural laws has been undergoing changes of different kinds at different stages and the other, being guarded by artificial rules, has been stereotyped. Thus it is clear that Pāli and Sanskrit are one and the same in origin and the difference which we now see is brought about by its being handled by different types of persons. So the question of superiority in age of the one over the other, as many *Paṇḍits* are entangled in, is altogether out of place. One is as old as the other with the difference that one has experienced more changes than the other.

In spite of all the changes that have been introduced into Pāli it contains very many forms which it had in its earlier stage and which have been discarded by her more conservative sister, the Sanskrit. We find in the *Vedic* language the forms like *Devebhiḥ*, *Karṃebhiḥ*, etc. in the plural number of the Third case which are not to be found in Sanskrit but retained in Pāli as *Devebhi*, *Devehi*, *Kaṇṇebhi*, *Kaṇṇehi*, etc. which are not exceptions but are regular forms therein. Similarly the Nominative and Vocative Neuter Plural forms ending in '*ā*' such as *Viśvā* and *Cyavanā* as in the example "*Yenemā viśva cyavanā kṛtāni* " are still to be found in Pāli in the

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forms *Cittā , Rūpā*, etc. The First Person Plural termination '*Masi*' of the *Vedic* language as in "*Namo bharanta emasi*" is represented by '*Mase*' in Pāli, as in "*Mayamettha yamāmase.*" The Third Person Plural forms ending in '*re*' as '*Dure*' in the *Vedic* language are to be found still in Pāli as *Paccare, Bhāsare*, etc. The *Vedic* Infinitive suffix '*Tave*' is very common in Pāli as in *Kātave. Gantave*, etc. The *Vedic* Absolutive ending in '*Tvāya*' is represented by the Pāli '*Tvāna*' and '*Tūna*' as in *Chetvāna, Katvāna, Kātūna*, etc. There are many *Vedic* nouns which are retained in Pāli and not to be found in Sanskrit. Very often we can decide the earlier form of a Sanskrit word by the help of its Pāli form, for example, the Sanskrit word *Āmra* is in the *Vedic* language *Āmbra* which is in Pāli *Amba* with the '*b*' as in the *Vedic*. The Sanskrit *Gomat, Guṇavat, Cakṣumat* are in the *Vedic* language respectively *Gomant, Guṇavant, Cakṣumant*, which are in Pāli *Gomanta,. Guṇavanta* and *Cakkhumanta.*

The syntax, moreover, in Pāli fully agrees with that in Sanskrit. To put it briefly, we can hardly find two other languages which agree so much syntactically. One can translate a Sanskrit sentence into Pāli without making any change in the order of words. If one can spend time and labour in studying the characteristics of the *Vedic* language and compare them with those of Pāli, one can easily write a very comprehensive history of the phonetic tendencies of the early Indian minds and a well formed history of ancient Indian psychology."

Theories of the origin of Pāli — The Home of Pāli

It is generally believed that Pāli arises from some spoken dialect of middle Indo-Aryan.[43] It belongs to the first or early Middle Indo-Aryan stage.[44] It has the characteristics of the Middle Indo-Aryan language.[45] We can mention here directly, that it has never taken its origin from classical Sanskrit. Because there are some peculiarities which clearly signify that *Vedic* has some close relation with it.[46] With the help of the ancient Buddhists of the *Hīnayāna* school or the *Theravāda* school, the Pāli language and its literature have developed in India. It had close connection with the *Theravāda* school in India, because it was its vehicle. So we find the flourishing condition of Pāli literature in India when the *Theravāda* school played a great role in the history of Buddhism. But after the rise of the *Mahāyāna*, not only the *Theravāda* school

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but also the study of Pāli gradually declined in India. Pāli and the *Theravāda* school then took their home in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). They played a prominent part for more than 2000 years in the religious history of that country. From Sri Lanka, *Theravāda* Buddhism and Pāli were introduced into Burma (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand), Cambodia (Campuchea) and Laos.

According to the orthodox theory, Pāli is *Māgadhī*, *Māgadhānirutti* and *Māgadhikabhāṣā*.[47] Pāli scholars from Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand and Campuchea believe that Pāli can be identified with the language of the Buddha. He used to stay in Magadha most of his time, it is quite natural that the language of Magadha was spoken by him. For this reason Pāli has been identified with *Māghadhī*.[48] It is quite natural that the early Buddhist scriptures were composed in *Magādhī* in which the Buddha spoke. It was the language of the place where the religion of the Buddha arose. The Buddhistic tradition says that the language of the Pāli-*Tipiṭaka*, which was the original canon, was the language of the Buddha himself.[49] Thus from the above facts it is clear that *Māgadhī* was regarded as *Mūlabhāsā* or the basic language. It was the language "in which the words of the Buddha were originally fixed".[50] According to the Buddhists of the *Hīnayānā* or the *Theravāda* school, the language of Magadha was the speech of the Buddha. This was considered as the original language of man.[51] This was regarded as the *mulabhasa* "the primary speech of all men". This was spoken by men of the primaeval epoch, by the *Brahmins* and by the Buddhas — "the natural speech of many which alone would be spoken if human beings were taught no other language."[52] "*Sa Māgadhī mūlabhāsā, nara yāy'ādi kappikā, Brāhmaṇa c'assuta-lāpā, Sambuddhā cāpi bhāsare*".[53] Prof Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gives an account of the identification of Pāli with *Māgadhī*, the speech of Magadha which took its shape in Sri Lanka. He describes,[54] "Mahinda and Sanghamittā took the Buddhist canon from Magadha to Ceylon in the 3rd century B.C. We do not know exactly what dialect it was in which the canon was taken to Ceylon for the first time; it may have been Pāli or it may have been some other dialect. But the undoubted fact was that the canon was sent by Aśoka from Magadha, and it embodied *Buddhavacana*, the sayings of the Buddha. Hence the monks of Ceylon as well as laymen would easily identify the language of the canon with the language of Magadha, assuming that this language was Pāli such as we

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find it. . .".

From the grammarians, the inscriptions and the dramas it is clear that some distinguishing features of *Māgadhī* are not found in Pāli.[55] They are: "(1) The mutation of every *r* into *l* and every *s* into *ś*, and (2) the ending *e* in nominative singular masculine and neuter of *a* stems and of consonantal stems inflected like them. Pāli, however, retains the *r* (its change into *l* is indeed frequent but not the rule), and possesses no *ś* at all, but only *s*, and the nominal forms mentioned above end in it with *o* or *aṁ*".[56] These are some arguments against the opinion that Pāli is a dialectical form of *Māgadhī* or it is based on it.[57] But from the above facts Burnouf and Lassen say that Pāli is a Magadha-dialect.[58]

R.C. Childers[59] mentions the Buddhist canon as Pāli. He says, "Viewed as a body of sacred literature, the Buddhist canon is called Pāli, literally the 'series' or '*catena*' because it consists of a series of texts of various lengths".[60] The word *Pālibhāṣā* or Pāli language may be regarded as "language of the sacred texts"[61] and *Māgadhī* or *Māgadhese* or *Maghadhabhāsā*, 'Magadha language', 'Language of the Magadha people' was the geographical name of this language.[62] R.C. Childers[63] describes, "As, however, there are two or three dialects of Magadhese the term *Pālibhāsā* or 'Language of the Buddhist Scriptures' is really the most accurate, specifying as it does a particular dialect of Magadha originally obscure and ignoble, but rendered immortal by the peerless literature of which it is vehicle". R.C. Childers in order to elucidate the word Pāli states that "a name of the *Magadhabhāshāva*, i.e., ancient language of South Bihar or India within the Ganges; it bears the epithet in consequence of the perfection of its grammatical structure".[64]

In Sanskrit the meaning of the word Pāli is 'line, row, series' but, according to the South Buddhists, they are the series of books which indicate the texts of the Buddhist scriptures.[65] Thus *Pālibhāsā* is language of the texts which undoubtedly is equivalent to '*Māgadhī* language'.[66] Although the term Pāli was used in the sense of sacred text for a very long time but the expression *Pālibhāsā* was introduced in recent times and in the old South Buddhist texts *Māgadhī* was used for the sacred language of Buddhism.[67] According to the Buddhist tradition, Pāli was the dialect of Magadha and Gautama Buddha preached his doctrine in that language.[68] R.C. Childers[69] says, "Originally a mere

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provincial idiom, the Magadhese tongue was raised by the genius of a great reformer to the dignity of a classic language and is regarded by the Buddhists with the same feelings of veneration with which present-day jew looks upon the language of the Pentateuch. A language is generally what its literature makes it. Had Gautama never preached, it is unlikely that the Magadhese would have been distinguished from the many other vernaculars of Hindustan, except perhaps by an inherent grace and strength which make it a sort of Tuscan among the Prakrits. The existing Pāli literature is of great extent and importance; it is valuable alike to the philologist, the historian, the student of folklore and the student of comparative religion". It is to be noted here that what Muhammad contributed largely to the Arabic, Gautama gave the same valuable service for Magadhese.[70] R.C. Childers states that the internal evidence shows that Pāli was regarded as a vernacular of the people. He describes, "The change which Pāli has undergone relatively to Sanskrit is almost wholly confined to vocabulary; its alphabet is deficient in vowels, the dual is lost, some verbal roots are unrepresented while many vowel forms have disappeared. But the gain in other direction due to the latitude of phonetic change and the incorporation of new nouns and verbal forms is not inconsiderable. There is no foreign element in Pāli with the exception of a very few imported Dravidian nouns. It is on the whole in the same inflexional stage as Sanskrit and everything in its vocabulary, grammar and syntex can be explained from the sister tongue".[71]

James Alwis[72] in the *Buddhist Scriptures and Their Language* mentions that, at the time of the rise of Buddhism, Sanskrit was not regarded as the vernacular speech of the people. Pāli, which was the language of Magadha, was one of the dialects in India. This was used at that time in India. James Alwis[73] thinks that *Māgadhī* was the correct and original name for Pāli. He says further that there were 16 dialects existed in India at the time of Gautama Buddha,[74] but people took keen interest in *Māgadhī*. The dialect of the Buddhist scriptures of the Hīnayānists or the Theravādins was *Māgadhī*. It is to be noted here that in Sri Lanka at present there are many works on Pāli grammar which no doubt clearly indicates the importance of the Pāli language and also informs us that people took keen interest in that language. B.C. Law describes,[75] "the high antiquity of Pāli, its refinement, its verbal and grammatical simplicity, its relationship with the oldest

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language of the *Brahmins*, prove it to be a dialect of high antiquity".

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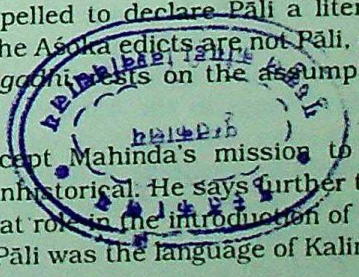
According to the Buddhist tradition, Pāli was the language of Magadha, but western scholars did not accept this theory. It is said that a dialect, which became known as *Māgadhī*, began to appear in the Sanskrit drama of much later date,[76] and it differed from Pāli very much and it was for this reason that *Māgadhī* and Pāli, which became known as *Māgadhī*, was not the same language at various stages of its development.[77] According to scholars, a dialect which was used in a few inscriptions and seals in south Bihar from Maurya period, was like the *Māgadhī* of the Sanskrit drama, and did not agree with Pāli.[78] R.C. Childers states,[79] "The tradition is generally dismissed in a very summary manner, on the ground that Pāli does not possess the phonetic characteristics of Vararuchi's *Māgadhī*. It is curious to see those who are so ready to discredit one tradition accept without examination another tradition resting on evidence not a tithe as good. For that Vararuchi's *Māgadhī* was really a Magadha vernacular is after all only a tradition like the Buddhist one. Considering it a great interval that separates Gautama and Vararuchi, the discrepancy may be explained in a way that will suggest itself to those who are familiar with the migrations of languages and the names of languages in historical times. Morever, the Magadh territory may have varied greatly in dimension at different periods, and have included several dialects. One of the much despised Buddhist traditions is that Ceylon was colonised from a district of Magadha called Lāla which is evidently meant to be an outlying district, or at least not that in which Gautama preached. If Pāli and Sinhalese are both dialects of Magadha, we should expect them to resemble each other closely, while at the same time presenting dialectic differences. So great are the straits to which those who deny the Magadhese origin of Pāli are driven that Kern is compelled to declare Pāli a literary manufacture. His argument that the Aśoka edicts are not Pāli, and that therefore Pāli cannot be *Māgadhī* rests on the assumption that the edicts are *Māgadhī* ."



Dr. Oldenberg[80] does not accept Mahinda's mission to Sri Lanka and he thinks that it was unhistorical. He says further that the people of Kaliṅga played a great role in the introduction of Pāli into Sri Lanka. He mentions that Pāli was the language of Kaliṅga.

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He describes that the home of the Pāli language was in the south and it was not in the north of the Vindhya mountains. He states that Buddhism and the Buddhist canon *Tripiṭaka* were introduced in Sri Lanka as a result of intercourse between the island and the neighbouring countries. According to him,[81] the character of the Pāli language was exactly like the character of the inscription of Khaṇḍagiri of Khāravela in the second century B.C. which was found in Orissa. On some points it agrees fully with Pāli. Edward Muller[82] thinks that Kaliṅga was the home of Pāli. In his opinion Southern India was able to exercise a great influence upon cultural life of the north-west of Sri Lanka, but the Aryan immigration from the Ganges Valley had no hand in it. He says that the oldest settlements in the island were established from the opposite mainland, i.e., Southern India and not from Bengal or its neighbouring regions. He and Dr. Oldenberg refer to Pāli as the language of ancient Orissa.[83]

From the above facts, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee makes a conclusion. He describes,[84] "But both of these scholars have overlooked the fact that an inscription found at a particular place need not be written in local language. We have, for example, inscriptions in Aryan language in the heart of the Dravidian country and Persian inscriptions in India during the Muhammadan period. Moreover, a century before the date of Khāravela, we have the inscriptions of Aśoka at Dhauli, close to Khaṇḍagiri, and here we find a totally different dialect. As a matter of fact there are plenty of facts to show that Orissa was not Aryanised in speech at that early epoch. The language of the Aśokan inscriptions in Orissa was taken there from Magadha by Magadhan officials, soldiers, priests, merchants and others in the 3rd century B.C. after the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka and was merely the language of the conquerors and not the language of the land. The dialect used by Khāravela again was not a local dialect but would appear to be the language of the Jaina teachers of King Khāravela. This dialect, it would appear, was taken from Mathurā side. It was an important centre of Jainism about the time of Khāravela. Pāli really belongs to the Madhyadeśa or the Midland, the heart of which was the city of Mathurā and hence taking above possibilities into note it would not be strange that Pāli and the language in the inscriptions of Khāravela agree with each other remarkably".

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According to Westergaard[85] and E. Kuhn,[86] Pāli was the dialect of Ujjayini and of Gujarat. It fully agrees with the languages of the Aśoka-inscriptions of Girnar (Gujarat). It is said that the dialect of Ujjayinī was the mother-tongue of Mahinda, who went to Sri Lanka to preach Buddhism there. From the legend we learn that Mahinda's birth took place at Ujjayinī and he was the son of Aśoka, the Maurya ruler. He took his education at Ujjayinī. When he was grown up he came to his father's capital and at that time he took Buddhism as his religion and knew the dialect of Ujjayinī which he studied during his stay in Ujjayinī. It is to be noted here that in the inscriptions of Aśoka the dialect of Girnar was like Pāli. Thus Westergaard and E. Kuhn say that Mahinda took the Pāli canon with him when he went to Sri Lanka. The language of this canon had a great similarity with the language of Ujjayinī and Gujarat, i.e., Girnar.[87] E. Kuhn says that the literary Pāli was based upon the dialect of Ujjayinī.[88] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee comments,[89] "The above view is partly a hypothesis and partly based on linguistic comparison. The dialect of Girnar, no doubt agrees with Pāli more than either the eastern dialect of Aśoka or the north-eastern dialect of the inscriptions of the same monarch, but there are some sharp differences too. We cannot say that the dialect of Ujjayinī (Malwa) and of Gujarat were identical."

R.O. Franke[90] mentions that home of literary Pāli was not in the eastern part of Northern India. According to him,[91] "its original home was a territory, which could not have been too narrow, situated about this region from the middle to the western Vindhya ranges". He thinks that Pāli had a great similarity with the spoken dialect of that region and most probably Ujjayinī was its centre.[92] He opines, "There are points of similarity and dissimilarity between literary Pāli and the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of the North-Western India; literary Pāli has many points of difference as compared to the language of the inscriptions of the Deccan, and the language of the inscriptions of the Western Madhyadesa shows most points of agreement with literary Pāli though there are points of dissimilarity".[93] He describes further that "he has compared the language of the various Prakrit inscriptions, which he calls inscriptional Pāli and on noting that literary Pāli is different from the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, inscriptions of the east and south and south-west, has arrived at the conclusion that the home of the literary Pāli must be within the region surrounded by the Prākrit inscriptions.

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i.e., the region round about Ujjayinī".[94] Sten Konow opines that the home of Pāli was the Vindhya mountains.[95] He describes further that Pāli had a close connection with *Paiśācī* Prākrit.[96] This Prākrit was spoken in the country which was situated to the north of the Vindhya mountains.[97] George Grierson does not accept Sten Konow's views. He mentions that the North-Western Frontier of India was the home of *Paiśācī* Prākrit.[98] There are other scholars who believe that Pāli was an old form of *Śaurasenī* Prākrit because the phonetics and morphology of Pāli are identical with it. T.W. Rhys Davids[99] says that Pali was a literary dialect and it took its shape from the spoken language of Kośala. He describes, "Pāli as a kind of artificial literary speech which grew out of a *lingua franca* or dialect of inter-provincial intercourse based on the various spoken dialects. Later he suggtested that the speech of Kośala supplied the basis of this inter-provincial language of communication upon which Pāli was built up".[100] He further says that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., there was a standard Kośalan speech which can be mentioned as speech of the Buddha and the Pāli scriptures.[101] According to him,[102] "they were (in the main) composed within a century after the Buddha's death in this Kośalan country". From the Aśokan inscriptions it is clear that there was a standard language, which was regarded as a younger form of the standard Kośalan. Keith refers to it. He describes,[103] "there is no reason whatever, to accept the view that the language of Aśoka's Magadhan empire was Kośalan or to accept the suggestion that Kośala became a part of Magadha by the peaceful succession of the Magadhan ruler to the Kośalan throne with the result that the language of Kośala prevailed over the language of Magadha". Rhys Davids[104] does not mention the conclusive evidence of the Bhābru inscription which informs us that although Aśoka knew a canon, but, even then, he never tried to act according to Pāli canon, and in order to give titles of canonical texts if he accepted his own language, there was no reason to doubt that his contemporaries would also follow the text adapted in language to the speech of the day in accordance with desire expressed by the Master himself. Again Keith reminds Rhys Davids by stating that the facts give quite a different picture.[105] The Buddha[106] propagated his religion either in standard Kośalan dialect or in Magadhan dialect. But it was very difficult to say anything about it. Because there was no sufficient evidence to make a conclusion of it. The official or the standard speech of

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Aśoka cannot be described as *Māgadhī*, but it can be mentioned as *Ardha Magadhī*.[107] "But this *Ardhamāgadhī* or other Magadhan dialect is not reproduced in Pāli. The basis of Pāli is some western dialect and in its literary form as shown in the Pāli canon, we have a decidedly artificial composite product doubtlessly largely affected by Sanskrit and substantially removed from a true vernacular. But it must be noted as against Rhys Davids that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those known to us. Even in the case of the Girnar dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, it is impossible to establish the priority of Pāli in view of such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants and traces the retention of '*r*' in certain consonantal combinations as well as the use of '*ṣṭ*' where Pāli assimilates; moreover that dialect appears to have maintained a distinction for sometime between the palatal and lingual sibilants. There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the linguistic facts to throw doubt about the date above suggested".[108]

According to Mrs. Rhys Davids,[109] Pāli has not received its name from any localizable tongue. The meaning of Pāli is 'row', '*pañkti* '.[110] She describes[111] that the name of the famous courtesan Ambapālī (Mango-orchard-er, lit. mango-rower) reminds it and she also gives an example from the *Visuddhimagga* to inform us that the "teeth are said to be in a pāli (*dantapāli*)". She further states that "it is almost in juxtaposition to this term that we read, "Give him the Pāli of 32 bodily parts to learn", in other words, give him either a written leaf of that list of parts or merely the repeated "row" of terms".[112] According to her,[113] Pāli cannot be described as another name for Magaddhese. This Prākrit was spoken in the Magadhan country when Aśoka was its ruler. Mrs. Rhys Davids[114] states that here and there, we find forms of *Māgadhī* and *Ardhamāgadhī* in Pāli than that Pāli which has taken its base in them only. She says,[115] "When India was bookless and laboriously punching letters on little metalplates, she was cutting shapes in stones she was carving. For these two operations she appears to have had but the one word '*likh*', '*lekh*', to scratch or incise. We began our writing relatively earlier; we had the two words. With the growing need, and the new material for setting down not mere lists, donations, contracts in writing, but also the expanded masses of her *mantras*, there came to pass the new and impressive phenomenon of seeing that which had been a time-series in air, become a "row" of things in space. And for a

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long time, it remained customary to allude to the two series in juxtaposition: the "row" as not the 'talk on the meaning" (*aṭṭhakathā*). Still later when more were learning to read the row, the word 'reading' (*pāṭha*) was substituted for the word 'row', e.g., "the reading is also thus", alluding to variant readings, "*ayam pi pāṭho*". But not at first; and so in Pāli, in default of an alternative term for graphic presentation, we have emphasis thrown not on to the handicraft, as in *lekhana, likhi*, but on to the thing produced by handicraft, the visible, finished act. Pāli is just "Text" and there is no reason to believe that it was ever more than that".

Windisch,[116] a German scholar, opines that Pāli cannot be mentioned as a pure spoken language and it flourished throughout India's Aryan tracts. With the help of the local spoken dialects it was able to correct in its spoken forms in the various regions. This speech flourished in Magadha and it was spoken by the Buddha. With the help of *Māgadhī* peculiarities it was able to modify itself. Windisch states, "Pāli did not agree with any of the Prākrits on the inscriptions, because it had long ceased to be a dialect of any province, but had become a literary language, for the same reasons as Luther's dialect became the High German. When a language becomes more and more a common language, it gives up, by and by, its original dialectic peculiarities. But even a literary language must have a dialect of some region as its basis, and Pāli, according to Windisch when Grierson follows, had for its basis the *Māgadhī*. No doubt Pāli does not show the peculiarities of the latter, viz., the *e* of the nominative singular masculine of a basis, and the invariable *l* for *r*. But these were given up by the Pāli, when it became almost a *lingua franca*, in preference to *e* and *r* which were more commonly found in other dialects. But some traces of these are yet found in Pāli. *Bhikkhave* the vocative, modelled upon the nominative, is still preserved, as it was a word of address used by the Buddha so frequently in his discourses. Tradition also says that Pāli represents the *Jinavacanaṁ* or *Buddhavacanaṁ* and that Buddha spoke in *Māgadhī*. The characteristic *l* of the *Māgadhī* is found in Pāli words like *ludda, agalu, paliveṭheti, isigili*; for Sk. *rudra, agaru, pariveṣṭhayati, ṛṣigiri*. Also *māluta* for *māruta*. Windisch rightly points out that the *l* and *e* were not peculiar to *Māgadhī* only; they were current in Kapilavastu. Also, as the Piprava inscription shows, that Pāli had adopted more current forms of other dialects, and had thus acquired a mixed character is shown by a variety of forms for one

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case like *dhamma, dhammassiṁ, dhammamhi'*.[117] George Grierson[118] accepts the views of Windisch and says that literary Pāli can be regarded as *Māgadhī*. M. Winternitz[119] fully agrees with him. He describes that Pāli can be mentioned as a language of literature which is used by the Buddhists and like the rise of every literary language, it has taken its shape from an admixture of several dialects.[120] He states further that this type of literary tongue no doubt has arisen from the definite dialect, and this is *Māgadhī*.[121] From it he makes a conclusion that the tradition, which mentions Pāli and *Māgadhī* synonymous, is based on an historical evidence.[122] Gradually development took place in Pāli and was fixed, during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmanī in Sri Lanka, when writing of scriptures began.[123] Then literary Pāli was used as a spoken language and it became a medium of literary instruction in the University of Taxila.[124] The educated Buddhists accepted it as their language and they also used it for their literary purposes.

H. Luders[125] thinks that the oldest Buddhist scriptures were written in the old *Ardhamāgadhī* and the existing Pāli canon in some part gives a translation in the old *Ardhamāgadhī*. According to Sylvain Levi,[126] in Pāli there is a dialect in which sound changes are quite different from Pāli's sound changes. In that dialect sound changes had gone further than what we see in Pāli. At first the Jains and the Buddhists for their use had one of the Magadhan dialects in which, it is known, that consonant degradation was in progress.[127] At the time of final stage, when they reduced their scriptures to permanent form, the Jains then took a step to reduce systematically the intervocalic consonant to the *ya-sruti* and the Buddhists under the influence of western elements did it in the opposite sense.[128] Keith[129] thinks that in Sylvain Levi's statement there are a number of peculiarities in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit in which one can easily find the use of various forms of words in the older version of the canon and also the use of analogous forms in inscriptions. The Bhābrū edict[130] mentions '*Lāghulovāde*' in place of '*Rāhulovāda*', '*Adhigicya*' in place of '*Adikirtya*'. It is to be noted here that the softening of '*k*' is not found generally in Pāli and the retention of '*cy*' is a foreign element in Pāli. There are also '*Anādhapeḍika*' in place of '*Anāthapiṇḍika*', '*Maghādeviya Jātaka*' in place of '*Makhādeva Jātaka*', '*avayesi*' in place of '*avādesi*',[131] etc. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee remarks,[132] "Sylvain Levi and Herman Luders have gone into the question in detail and they have made suggestions which seem to

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point at the true solution of the problem of Pāli and its homeland. Embedded in Pāli literature, particularly in the older period, we get a number of old and peculiar words which do not agree in their form and structure with the ordinary words or language. They have been looked upon as special "Magadhisms" which have survived in the language. These scholars have assumed and this assumption appears to be quite reasonable in the presence of facts that contrary to popular opinion the Pāli canon does not represent the original canon of Buddhism. Buddha was an easterner and he originally gave his discourses in the eastern form of Indo-Aryan. The oldest specimens of this eastern language we find in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Pāli does not agree with it, and yet within Pāli we have a good number of words and forms which are obviously of eastern origin. Some of these words are also rather late; they belong to the transitional or second Middle Indo-Aryan period. It has been assumed that Buddha's permission allowing people to study his teachings in their own languages had a great effect in furthering the development of the vernacular of his date. So long as Buddha lived, his discourses were passing from mouth to mouth in much of his own language. But as his doctrines have spread, necessity was felt for authentic or standardised "editions" of these. His teachings appear to have been in a floating state during his lifetime, and after his death his followers wanted to collect all his teachings together and from them, it took the shape of an official canon. This was done at the Sattapanni cave after Buddha's death and the monk Mahā-kassapa, whose homeland was in the Midland, i.e., Western India, took a leading part in editing of the canon. Probably different versions were current from the beginning in different dialects of which the, e.g., in the Eastern Prākrit would naturally have the greatest heritage. From this Eastern language (dialect) it was undoubtedly translated into various other Indo-Aryan dialects. We have got fragments of the Buddhist canon in the Prākrit of the North-west, and a few lines occur in Aśokan inscriptions which appear to be in the original eastern dialect. The agreement of Pāli with the Midland speech of later times, viz., *Śaurasenī*, is so close that it would appear that the eastern dialect of the original canon was rendered into the Midland one, and out of this Midland version the present Pāli canon developed. In translating from one closely related dialect to another, a good many forms of the original dialect survive in the translation. This is how the abnormal forms

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of Pāli has largely been explained. If the original is in verse sometimes an old form must maintain to preserve the metre. Otherwise a great deal of violence will have to be done in the text".

According to W. Geiger,[133] Pāli is a kind of *Ardhamāgadhī*. He refers to Pāli as a form of *Māgadhī*. The Buddha used this language for preaching purpose. W. Geiger[134] describes, "This language of Buddha was however surely not purely popular dialect, but a language of the higher and cultured classes which had been brought into being already in pre-Buddhistic times through the needs of inter-communication in India. Such a *lingua franca* naturally contained elements of all the dialects; but was surely free from the most obstrusive dialectical characteristics. It was surely not altogether homogenous. A man from the Magadha country must have spoken it in one way, and a man from the districts of Kośala and Avanti in another, just as in Germany the high German of a cultured person from Wurttemberg, Saxony or Hamburg shows in each case peculiar characteristic features. Now, as Buddha, although he was no Magadhan himself, displayed his activities mainly in Magadhan and the neighbouring countries, the *Māgadhī* dialect might have imprinted on his language its own characteristic stamp. This language could have therefore been well called *Māgadhī* even if it avoided the grossest dialectical peculiarities of this language. As Windisch has rightly pointed out, after the death of the Master, a new artificial language must have been evolved out of the language of Buddha. Attempts were made to retain the teachings of Buddha in authentic form, and to impose this form also upon those portions which, although derived from the monastic organisations of the various provinces, were gradually incorporated into the canon. In connection with the designation of the canonical language as *Māgadhī* , Windisch also refers to the *Ārṣa*, the language of the *Jaina-suttas*. It is called *Ardha-māgadhī*, i.e., "half- *Māgadhī* ". Now it is surely significant that the *Ardha-Māgadhī* differs from *Māgadhī* proper, on similar points as Pāli. For *Ardha-Māgadhī* too does not change the *r* into *l*, and in the noun inflexion it shows the ending *o* instead of Māgadhic *e* at least in many metrical pieces. On the other hand, as I believe to have myself observed, there are many remarkable analogies precisely between *Ārṣa* and Pāli in vocabulary and morphology. Pāli, therefore, might be regarded as a kind of *Ardha-māgadhī*. I am unable to endorse the view, which has apparently gained much currency at present, that the Pāli canon

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is translated from some other dialect (according to Luders from *Old Ardha-Māgadhī*) . . .".

Prof. Turner gives his opinion about Pāli and its dialectical forms. He thinks[135] that "according to some the meaning of Pāli has been extended to cover all the cognate middle Indian dialects found in the inscriptions and other documents. Pāli, in its earlier texts, is a language of mixed dialectical forms, some common to both north-western and eastern dialects; others particularly eastern. These may be due to the influence of an original recension in an eastern dialect or to the general influence of the eastern vernaculars on the other Indo-Aryan languages, especially during the predominance of the Maurya empire with its eastern capital. Its main characteristics are those of a western dialect. Tradition has it that the Buddhist scriptures were brought to Ceylon by Aśoka's son Mahinda who had spent his childhood in Ujjayini. In Ceylon the study and the use of Pāli which died out in India, was persecuted by the Buddhists and carried thence to Burma and Siam, where it still remains to some extent the language of literature or at least of religion". The Buddha and Mahāvīra belonged to the East and it is for this reason some believe that most probably the eastern or *Prācya* dialect was used by them for preaching purposes. But it is difficult to say anything about this eastern dialect.

Thus from the above facts relating to the original home of the Pāli language, it is difficult to make a conclusion about it. Even we could not say definitely about the dialect which was the medium of instructions of the Buddha. It is very probable that from a western form of the Indian Prākritic dialects particularly the form which corresponded with the dialect of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts and to some extent also with the *Śaurasenī* Prākrit, Pāli has taken its shape.[136] The Pāli canonical texts inform us that "the tendency of Pāli is to steer clear of Māgadhism".[137] Thus there are examples of Māgadhism from the Pāli texts; "*sukhe dukkhe jīvasaṭṭame*", "*akaṭā akaṭavidhā*" (*Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 56), "*N'atthi attakāre n'atthi parakāre, n'atthi purisakāre*": (*Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 53)[138] But these did not affect the character of Pāli. Because they are referred to those places where we get discussions of the doctrines of Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla, the contemporary teachers of the Buddha. It is to be noted here that these forms are not mentioned in those

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places where the doctrines of Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla have been restated in Pāli, their own language.[139] We find the exceptional form *Isigilī* for *Isigiri* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, III, pt. I, p. 68).[140] But this form never helped to indicate the influence of Māgadhism in Pāli. Because here *Isigilī* was explained as a *Māgadhī* spelling which was retained for a very special reason.[141] B.C. Law says, "In order to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the origin of the Pāli language, it will be necessary to leave aside not only the instances of Māgadhism noted above but also some of the Prākrit and *Vedic* survivals in the *gāthās*, e.g., *vaḍḍha* for *vṛddha*, *netave* for *netuṃ*, *pahātave* for *pahātum*, these forms being altogether absent in the prose portions".[142]

Dr. A.B. Keith mentions the home of Pali. He describes,[143] "If we follow the guidance of a great pioneer in the study of Pāli, we must believe that the Buddha's mother tongue was *Kośalan*, the vernacular of a powerful kingdom of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The Pāli canon as regards the *Vinaya* and the four *Nikāyas*, with the possible exception of the supplements, falls within a century of the Buddha's death, and the rest belongs to the following century. The language of these texts is based on this standard *Kośalan*. It is true that in Ceylon the tradition attested by Buddhaghosa held that the language of the Canon was *Māgadhī*, but this must not mislead us. It is clear that the reference is not to the *Māgadhī* of the Prākrit grammarians, since these wrote centuries later, nor to the contemporary dialect of Magadha. What is meant is that the language was that used by Aśoka, the king of Magadha, seeing that the Canon was brought by his son Mahinda, by oral tradition, not in writing. Now the edicts of Aśoka reveal the existence of a standard language, and this *Māgadhī* is devoid of the peculiarities which are normally associated with the idea of that dialect, being in fact a younger form of the standard *Kośalan lingua franca* already mentioned. The fact that *Kośalan* should have thus retained its supremacy despite the fact that the king of Magadha became king of Kośala may be explained by a peaceful succession of the former to the Kośalan throne. There is a parallel available in the case of the Scottish dynasty ascending the English throne; the dialects remained apart, but the English spread at the expense of the Scottish. Thus we may conceive of *Kośalan* as spreading over an area from Delhi in the west to Patna in the east and from Sāvatthī in the north to Avanti in the south. Pāli may thus be held to be a literary dialect, based on the spoken language

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of Kośala probably in the form which it assumed at Avanti.

Windisch and Geiger also agree in defending the authenticity of the traditional view of Pāli as *Māgadhī*. The speech of the Buddha, which is assumed to be reproduced in the Canon, was doubtless the educated *lingua franca* which had been devised for the needs of the intercourse of learned men in India. Such a speech naturally would not be marked by strong dialectical characteristics, but it would vary from place to place, for it would assume a local tinge. The Buddha was not a Magadhan, but his activities there would result in his preaching assuming a definite tinge of *Māgadhī*, which would therefore naturally be regarded as his form of speech. But this *Māgadhī* would be without the extreme characteristics of that speech and would rather be the *Ardha-Māgadhī* or *Ārṣa*, the language of the Jain Canon. Mahāvīra and the Buddha preached in a similar form of language. Nor can it be admitted, on this theory that the Canon was redacted in any speech other than that of the Buddha himself. Geiger adduces in proof of the fidelity with which it was sought to preserve the speech of the Master the account in the *Cullavagga*. v. 33. 1, of the instruction given by the Buddha, when it was represented to him that it might be desirable that his teaching should be handed down *chandaso*, that is doubtless in the literary Brahmanical language. The Buddha replied: *anujānāmi bhikkave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṁ pariyāpuṇitaḥ*, meaning thereby, according to Buddhaghosa, to command the monks to learn the precepts of the Buddha in his own speech, that is *Māgadhī*. Despite, however, the stress laid on this interpretation by Geiger, it is impossible in the context to accept his rendering. Doubtless, if the phrase cited stood alone it is capable of bearing the sense given, but it follows on the express statement that the monks, and of different families and origin, were corrupting the sayings of the Buddha in repeating them *sakāya niruttiyā* which in that context can only mean "each in his own speech". The passage, therefore, is decisive: even in the early school there was a definite tradition ascribing to the Master himself the grant of authority to depart from the tradition of his speech. That Pāli is *Māgadhī or Ardha-Māgadhī* in any sense, therefore, is not favoured by the *Cullavagga*.

It has, however, been suggested by Max Walleser that the name Pāli itself goes back to *Pāṭalī*, and that of *Pāṭalibhāsā*, while Pāṭalī

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of course, is present in Pāṭaliputra the name of the Magadhan capital. That term again must be deemed as equivalent to Pāṭalipura, the change being due to contamination with Vajjiputta. The theory is not without difficulties, for so far as the evidence goes it seems dubious whether Pāli was really used as the name of a language, but the decision of the issue is of no great importance from the present point of view. If indeed the term were found in the *Piṭakas*, the sense would be important, but it does not appear there but in the commentaries and carries us little further than the tradition in Buddhaghosa that the speech of the Canon was *Māghadī*.

The views of Rhys Davids and Geiger alike see in the Canon something approaching the actual language used by the Buddha, and to those who hold on other grounds that the Canon is of much later origin than even the first century after his death, this view naturally has little plausibility. But, of course, even if we admit that the texts were composed as early as is suggested by these scholars, the question arises whether we can place any faith in the view that the language has not changed substantially. In all probability we must assume that the texts in the course of oral transmission, which doubtless long preceded written form, suffered steadily from change to adopt them more closely to the current vernacular of the monastic circles. We are, therefore, at liberty to examine the nature of the language of the older texts without any assumption that we are bound by tradition or probability to find in them a basis of *Māgadhī*.

Both Rhys Davids and Geiger are careful to recognise that the language of the Buddha was essentially a *lingua franca*, and that, therefore, it must have shown dialectic mixture. This is abundantly proved by the extreme irregularity of Pāli phonetics. The equivalents for *-ry-* in Sanskrit are varied: the simple *-yy-* is found by assimilation in *Kayya* and *ayya* for *kārya* and *ārya*; but in lieu we have epenthesis in *kariya* and *ariya*: yet again we find *kayirā* for *kuryāt*,and *ayira*, which can be explained by metathesis from the preceding form, or by epenthesis after metathesis of *y* and *r*. Yet again the *y* passes before the *r* by metathesis, and then merges with the preceding vowel: thus for Sanskrit *āścarya* and *aiśvarya* we find *acchera* and *issera*. For Sanskrit *-kṣ-* we have variant treatments; *ikka* (*ṛkṣa*) beside *pakkha* (*pakṣa*); *akkhi* and *acchi* for *akṣi*; *culla* and *chuddha* for *kṣulla* and *kṣudra*. Or again

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hrasva gives *rassa*, but *hradas rahada*; *rātri* gives *ratti*, but *śatru satthu*; we have *addhā* for *addhvā* but *-vhe* for *-dhve*; *rasmi* for *raśmi* but *amhi* for *asmi*; *leyya* for *lehya* but *mayhaṁ* for *mahyaṁ*; *jabbhara* for *gahvara* but *jivhā* for *jihvā*, and so on. For *-r-* we have extreme variations, *accha* and *ikka* (*ṛkṣa*), *ujurju*), *brahant* (*bṛhant*), and *iruveda* (*ṛgveda*). Very significant is the fact that in no small number of cases we find two different forms with specific senses; thus *vaḍḍhi*, success, but *vuddhi*, growth; *maga*, wild beast, *miga*, gazelle, *khaṇa*, moment, *chaṇa*, festival; *khamā*, mercy, *chamā*, earth; *attha*, thing, *aṭṭa* lawsuit; *vattati*, he becomes *vaṭṭati* it is proper; *vatta*, duty and *vaṭṭa* round. For the common *pṛthivī* we have *paṭhavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī* and *puṭhavi*, and it is easy to multiply cases of variation. No doubt these need not all be explained by dialectical mixture. It is true that Pischel's proposal to distinguish between *-kkh-* and *-cch-* as representing Aryan *-kṣ-* and *-śṣ-* respectively has been by no means successful, but allowance must be made for the operation of analogy and for the fact that sound changes do not set in suddenly affecting every word, but operate gradually, so that we may come upon a stage of language in which the operation of the change is still incomplete. But it is not possible to ignore that there must be dialect mixture to explain so much irregularity just as in the case of Latin the necessity of admitting the existence of loan words is now freely conceded, as the only means of explaining the presence therein of abnormal forms. Moreover, we must, as also in the case of Latin, remember that dialectical distinctions need not be local only; in a society with sharp divisions as in ancient India, the speech of the educated classes may borrow isolated words from the speech of their inferiors, and among the latter processes of phonetic decay may well have progressed far more rapidly than among the superior classes, whose speech was deeply affected by education, and by the influence of Sanskrit. It is in this way that we can explain the occurrence of the Greek form Palibothra for Pāṭaliputra, or Peṭenika as a derivative from Pratiṣṭhāna, or Kusināra for Kuśinagara at a time when normally phonetic change had not proceeded so far in cultivated speech; as Walleser points out Stuttgart locally has lost its *-tt-*, and London preserves its *-d-* only in careful diction.

Accepting, however, the fact of dialect mixture the view of Rhys Davids, Windisch and Geiger demands that the basis should be *Māgadhī* or *Ardha-Māgadhī*. Needless to say the Old *Ardha-*

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Māgadhī which they contemplate is something much more primitive than the *Ardha-Māgadhī* which has been handed down in the Jaina Canon, which was redacted late and in which the language has unquestionably undergone much change. That we must recognise a considerable influence of Old *Ardha-Māgadhī* is asserted by Lüders, whose view, however, differs essentially from that of the scholars just mentioned. He holds that Pāli is essentially as preserved in the Canon a dialect based on a western speech, not a Koine based on *Ardha-Māgadhī*, and that the Magadhisms found in it are due to retention of these forms when the Canon was being rendered from *Ardha-Māgadhī* into Pāli. The discussion of the issue is difficult, because we have to reconstruct what we may believe Old *Ardha-Māgadhī* to have been from the Pillar inscriptions of Aśoka, and the evidence later given by the fragments of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa. The *Māgadhi* of the grammarians definitely represents a different dialect than that of the Pillar inscriptions, and has an analogue in the language of the Yogīmārā cave on the Rāmgarh hill.

When we pass over phenomena shared by *Ardha-Māgadhī* with other dialects, the number of Ardhamāgadhisms in the early Pāli texts is not imposing. The characteristic *-e-* for *-as* or *-ar* in Sanskrit appears in some adverbs, *pure*, *sve* or *suve*; in the formal address to the disciples, *bhikkhave*, and the curious *bhante*; in the nominative singular masculine, as in *purisakāre*, and rarely the neuter, as in *dukkhe* while vocatives such as *Bhesike* are best explained as nominatives transferred to vocative use. The *Vedic dharmāsas* gives *dhammāse*. The form *se* for *tad* has parallels in *Māgadhī śe* and *Ardha-Māghadhī se*, and it is significant that it is stereotyped in *seyyathā, tad yathā*. So again we find *ye* for Sanskrit *yad*. The *l* found in some cases in Pāli may well be traced to *Ardha-Māgadhī* influence. A number of more or less distinctive forms may be noted, *sakkhim* (*sākṣam*) has a parallel in *Ardha-Māgadhī sakkhaṁ;* both have *tharu* for *tsaru*, *velu* for *veṇu* and *naṅgala* for *lāṅgala*; both lingua lise the *d* in *daṁś* and *dah*; both have *ḳhīla* for *kīla; phusita* and *phusiya* stand for *pṛṣata, chāpa* and *chāva* for *śāva cheppā* and *cheppa* for *śepas; hata* and *hada* for *hṛta* and for *trayastriṁśat* they have *tāvattiṁsa* and *tāvattīsa* respectively. Again after vowels and nasalised vowels the *Ardha-Māgadhī* of Aśoka and Aśvaghoṣa uses *yeva* for the normal Pāli *eva*, and this variant is found here and there in Pāli. Very interesting is the argument of Lüders based on metre. In Pāli

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verses we find here and there accusatives plural masculine and rarely nonunative in *āni* in lieu of the normal *-e-*, where that would ruin the metre if simply substituted for the *Ardha-Māgadhī* form. Traces of this termination can be found in the *Ardha-Māgadhī* of the Jain Canon despite the fact that it has been influenced by western dialects. As Magadhan Muller reckons the gerunds *abhihaṭṭhuṁ* and *daṭṭhu*.

It is clear that these examples do not goes far to prove that *Ardha-Māgadhī* was the basis of Pāli, and there are excellent reasons for refusing to accept such a basis. Lüders' researches suggest that *Ardha-Māgadhī* had as characteristic signs, in addition to the use of *yeva* above-mentioned the regular appearance of *-e* where Sanskrit has *as*; the use of *l* to the exclusion of *r* ; the use of a dental nasal only to the exclusion of the palatal or lingual between vowels; and the lengthening of the vowel before the suffix *-ka*. None of these nor of certain other minor phenomena can be found regularly observed in Pāli, and it seems unreasonable to admit that *Ardha-Māgadhī* can be held to form the base.

Lévi again has carried out important researches which negative the view that the language of the Canon, as we have it in Pāli, is approximately that of the Buddha. But, while the Old *Ardha-Māgadhī* reconstructed by Lüders is a dialect which neither softens hard consonants between vowels nor sacrifices medial consonants, the dialect of which Lévi discovers traces is one far further advanced in phonetic change. The Buddha and Mahāvīra alike, he holds, used a *Magadhan* dialect in which degradation of consonants had proceeded a long way; when, however, the scriptures came to be redacted, there was a parting of the ways. The Jains vigorously carried out the reduction of intervocalic consonants to the *ya-śruti*, but the Buddhists acted in an opposite sense under the influence of the western elements who had gained control of the *Saṅgha*. The language consecrates the triumph of the Pāṭheyakas of the west as against the Pācīnakas, the heroes of the Council of Vaiśālī. But this prevalence of Sanskrit influence was not accomplished by the time of Aśoka or even of the later Mauryas, as the evidence of the inscriptions shows.

The evidence adduced for Lévi's theme rests on a number of curious forms found in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and supported by terms used in the inscriptions. It certainly is striking

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that in the Bhabra inscription we should find *Lāghulovāda* for *Rāhulavāda* and *adhigicya* for *adhikṛtya* of Sanskrit, where the softening of the *k* is rare in Pāli and the retention of *cy* is alien to it. At Bhārhut we have *Anādhapeḍika* for *Anāthapiṇḍika*, *Maghādeviya Jātaka* for *Makhādeva Jātaka*, and very remarkably *avayesi* for *avādesi*. Pāli and the Jain Canon have *Māgandiya* for Sanskrit *Mākandika* while *Kauśika* is represented by *Kośala*. Pāli represents by *Kajaṅgala* the village which Sanskrit calls *Kacaṅgala*. Buddhist Sanskrit has the form *Ṛṣivadana* where Pāli has *Isipatana* compelling us to assume the existence of an older dialectical form obliterated by Pāli. Pāli has preserved *Ālavī* as a place name but has restored *aṭavī* forest. By misunderstanding it has replaced *Ajiravatī* as a river name by *Aciravatī* and *Pakkharasāti* really stands for *Pauṣkarasādin* of Sanskrit. Similarly we may explain *uposatha* as opposed to Buddhist Sanskrit *poṣadha* and *opapātika* is a replacement of the original derivative from what in Sanskrit appears as *aupapāduka*. Very significant are three certainly obscure terms in the *Pātimokkha*, *pārājika*, *saṅghādisesa*, and *pācittiya*, which are to be regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit *pārācika*, *saṅghātiśeṣa*, and *prākeittika* respectively. So *ekodi* is really the *ekoti* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the crux *jalogi pātuṁ* of the record of Vaisālī is explained by *jalauka*. The inscriptions of Aśoka offer additional evidence of the weakening of intervocalic consonants; thus Delhi has *libi* for *lipi*, Jaugaḍa *laheya* and *hidaloga*, Dhauli *lahevu* and *ajala* (Jaugaḍa *acala*), while Palibothra and Kusināra the only explicable by weakening.

Geiger objects to the arguments of Lévi as insufficient to prove the existence of this pre-Canonic language, but his contentions are not wholly adequate. It is true that not all of Lévi's etymologies are sound, but many comparisons are satisfactory. It is also true that the weakening is found not merely in technical terms which may naturally be deemed to be taken over, but in more common words. But this contention may be met by interpreting the facts as pointing to a more considerable influence of pre-Canonic speech on Pāli than Lévi contended for. Moreover, the fact that hardening is also found in Pāli is in some degree at least explained most naturally as by Lévi to be due to the errors of the redactors who in restoring the original forms now and then went too far and created false forms. After making all allowances, it seems clear that Lévi has proved that Pāli as we have it has been influenced

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by a dialect of Magadha in which weakening of consonants had gone to considerable lengths. But such a dialect cannot possibly be trusted as lying at the base of Pāli any more than the Old *Ardha-Māgadhī* whence borrowings are traced by Lüders. Both these dialects, it seems clear, have influenced Pāli, a view which accords well with the opinion of those who hold that the Pāli Canon is comparatively late and post-Aśokan, representing the presentation in a western dialect of traditions current in more than one *Magadhan* dialect.

It is significant that the evidence that Pāli is far from purely *Magadhan* has induced Sir George Grierson to modify essentially the theory of Windisch that *Māgadhī* is at the basis of Pāli. His view is that "Literary Pāli is the literary form of the *Māgadhī* language, the then Koine of India as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University." The point of the change of view is that it enables Sir G. Grierson to explain satisfactorily the coincidences between Pāli and *Paiśācī* Prākrit insisted on by Konow, who on the strength of them claimed Pāli as a dialect of the Vindhyas and perhaps of the regions to the south and east. It must, however, be pointed out that it is difficult to accept the view that the Pāli Canon was redacted at Takṣaśilā, and the antiquity and importance of the study of the Pāli Canon at that university certainly cannot be established satisfactorily on the strength of the evidence of the *Jātaka* book. But the more important fact is that there is little cogency in the comparisons of *Paiśācī* and Pāli drawn by Konow and Grierson. (1) The hardening of sonant mutes is ascribed to both. In fact, however, the process is purely sporadic in Pāli; in the principal *Paiśācī* it is compulsory only for *d* and the weak cases of *rājan*, and even in *Cūlikā Paiśācī* only one variety demands the hardening of all sonant medials. In fact the phenomenon is sporadic throughout Prākrit and no identification is possible between Pāli and *Paiśācī* on the strength of it. (2) The retention of intervocalic consonants is common to all three types of Prākrit found in *Aśvaghoṣa* and is a sign of early date, not of special connection between Pāli and *Paiśācī*. (3) The use of epenthesis in *bhāriya*, *sināna* and *kasaṭa* is an ordinary Prākrit feature as regards the first two terms, while, if *kasaṭa* is not a metathesis of *sakaṭa* as often held, Konow justly adduces comparison with *Māgadhī kasṭa*. (4) The change of *jñ*, *ṇy*, and *ny* to *ññ* is shared by *Māgadhī*, and probably is characteristic of all

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early Prākrtis as indicated by those of *Aśvaghoṣa*. (5) The preservation of *y* in lieu of change to *j* is found in *Māgadhī*, and is probably common to all early Prākrits. (6) The termination *-o* in nominal bases is not merely found in *Paiśācī* but also in western dialects and is Sanskritic in origin. (7) The inflexional system of Pāli is generally similar not merely to that of *Paiśācī* but also to those of other western dialects. (8) The use of *r* in Pāli can as easily be traced to the western dialects and to Sanskrit as to *Paiśācī*, and in fact only standard *Paiśācī* retains *r*. These arguments for the close association in space of Pāli and *Paiśācī* thus do not prove what is claimed, and it becomes therefore a matter of no importance in this connection whether Grierson is right in claiming *Paiśācī* for the north-west or Konow in asserting the claims of the Vindhya. The latter view has the support of what is the more probable view of the dialect and place of origin of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, though the points involved are far from being certain. But it is noteworthy in this connection that Grierson admits that *Piśācas* may have advanced into Rājputānā and the Konkan. One point also, it may be noted, tells against the view of Grierson, namely the fact that *Paiśācī* has only the sibilant *s*, which would be strange if it were really a dialect of the north west.

Grierson's view, however, coming as it does, from a believer in the *Māgadhī* basis of Pāli, is a significant admission of the strength of western influences, and, as has been pointed out, while it is not proved that *Paiśācī* is essentially involved, there is evidence for western affinities in some of the points and all of them are consistent with such affinities. This brings us back to the suggestion early made by Westergaard and adopted by E. Kuhn, which sees in Pāli the dialect of Ujjayinī, arguing partly from the fact that Pāli has closest affinity with the *Girnār* form of the Aśokan language and partly from the legend that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda, who brought Buddhism to Ceylon. It is now possible to support this connection on broader lines, and to argue that at the base of Pāli there unquestionably lies a western dialect as opposed to an eastern. Lüders stresses *inter alia* the striking similarity between the *Girnār* dialect and Pāli in the formation of the locative singular of *-a* stems and in the accusative plural masculine in *-e*. In his work on *Pāli* and *Sanskrit* R. Otto Franke establishes a long list of points in which Pāli differs from the eastern Prākrit of Aśoka, and he equally demonstrates that it departs in important matters from the north-western

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Prākrit. He shows at the same time that in the north-western and the western dialects there are important coincidences with Pāli. Thus we find parallels for the assimilation of *ly* to *ll*; for the retention of *r* in *brāhmaṇa*; *u* represents *ṛ* in the declension of nouns of relationship in place of *i* in the eastern dialect; *ahaṁ* is employed instead of *hakaṁ*, and *ayaṁ* serves as nominative masculine and feminine of the demonstrative. In other cases the parallels are confined to the Prākrits of Madhyadeśa and the south-west. Thus we have *i* in the equivalents of Sanskrit *kṛta*; *laṭhi* for *yaṣṭi*; *l*, *ḷ*, and *lh* for intervocalic *d* and *dh*; *-mhā* for the ablative masculine and neuter of *-a* stems; *-ā* for the dative to such stems; oblique cases of *-u* and *-ū* stems in *-uyā*; *-arā* in the instrumental singular of *-ṛ* stems; and *cha* for *ṣaṭ*. A more precise location for Pāli is deduced from the fact that to its *dhītā* (*duhitṛ*) base forms, there are parallels from Mathurā, Sāñcī and Bhārhut, while south of Nāsik, which has both *dīhitu* and *duhitu*. forms in *duhu-* or *dhu-* prevail. But a location south of Mathurā, Sāñcī and Bhārhut is indicated by such facts as the frequent use of *ri* for *ṛ* in Mathurā; by the appearance there of *kṣuṇa* for *kṣaṇa*; by *-ye* forms from feminines in *ā*, *-i* and *-ī*, *-u* and *-ū*; and by *-are* in the instrumental of *-ṛ* stems. Special connection with the south is indicated by the occurrence there of forms with Pāli parallels such as *paṇuvisa* at Junnar; *sattari* at Nāsik; *r* for *d* in the equivalent of *daśa*, and for *dṛ* in those for *-dṛś* and *-dṛśa*, and *ch* in *cikīcha* in *Girnār*, where also are found the potentials *asa* and *asu*; feminine plurals in *-āyo*; and third plural *Ātmanepada* endings in *r*. The parallelism with the south, however, is not invariable. Thus we have seen that south of Nāsik forms in *duhu-* or *dhu-* prevail; in Nāsik we find *varisa* in place of *vassa*; *p* or *pp*, in *Girnār tp* (*pt*), are found in the equivalents of *ātman*, where Pāli has *tt*; *bi-* and *be* represent Sanskrti *dvi-* and *dve*, while Pāli has *dvi-*, *di-*, or *du-*, though it shares with these dialects *bā-* for *dvā-* in *dvādaśa*. *Girnār* again represents the abstract suffix *-tva* by *tpa* (*-pta*), and it omits frequently the aspiration in the equivalents of Sanskrit *sth* and *ṣṭh*.

From these and similar observations Franke deduces a location for the dialect at the basis of Pāli south or south-east of the Kharoṣṭhī country, the home of the north-western Prākrit; south of Mathurā, and perhaps also of Sāñcī and Bhārhut or at least not in the vicinity of these places; west or south-west of the region of the north-eastern Prākrit; north of Nāsik and east of Girnār. This

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suggests the area between the west and the middle Vindhya as the probable location and Franke conjectures that Ujjayinī might be deemed the headquarters of the language, since Aśoka was governor there before he became Emperor, his wife, the mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetivagiri, near Sāñcī, and Mahinda himself lived there in his boyhood before he carried Pāli literature to Ceylon. To these latter details we need not attach much value. It may be noted that, if Konow's location of *Paiśācī* in the Vindhya region is correct, the parallels between *Paiśācī* and Pāli agree with the results of Franke, and this agreement strengthens the value of Konow's suggestion, though in fact our knowledge of *Paiśācī* rests on too unsatisfactory a basis to render discussion of this issue of much real value. From the point of view of the history of the development of the Buddhist Canon Przyluski has suggested that the claim of Kauśāmbī as a centre is strong, and we may readily admit that in Pāli as we have it the dialect of that place played a part. It would in fact be unwise to seek to define closely the area of the base dialect of Pāli on the strength of the miserably inadequate and unreliable information presented by the scanty inscriptions. What we can reasonably say is that the basis was a western, not an eastern dialect, and that neither *Māgadhī* nor *Ardha-Māgadhī* should be deemed to furnish the foundation. On the other hand, there is every reason to admit that both earlier and later *Magadhan* dialects have left traces of their forms, probably as the result of the retention of forms from the Buddhist texts current in *Magadhan* dialects. The results of Lévi are specially important, for they render it extremely difficult to believe in the theory of the existence of an early Buddhist Canon in a *Magadhan* of the type envisaged in the theories of Rhys Davids and Geiger, and they confirm the doubts on this score which have been adduced on grounds wholly independent of language.

Pāli as resting on a western dialect should naturally be found to be strongly under Sanskritic influence and closely related to the early forms of *Śaurasenī* Prākrit. It is, therefore, very significant that the conclusions of Lüders as to the character of Old *Śaurasenī*, based on the fragments of *Aśvaghoṣa*, show that dialect had many affinities with Pāli as recorded. Thus there is no elision in Old *Śaurasenī* of consonants, and one instance only of softening of *t* to *d*: normally, intervocalic *n* remains unaltered; an initial *y* is never altered to *j*: as in Pāli *dy* in *udyāna* gives *yy*, not as later *jj*; *jñ* and *ny* result in *ññ*, not as later in *ṇṇ*; *dāni* and *idāni*

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occur as in Pāli; in *adaṇḍāraho* we have *a* as the epenthetic vowel, not *i* as later; *duguṇa shows du-* for *dvi-*, later *di-* alone is allowed, while Pāli has both forms: Aśvaghoṣa again uses *turaṁ* as in Pāli for the later *tumaṁ*, and has *tava* for *tuha*; he has also *karotha* common in Pāli, in later Prākrit unknown and for gerund *kariya*, found in Pāli. Moreover we find *pekkh* (Sanskrit *prekṣ-*) as in Pāli, and *gamissiti* may be compared with such Pāli forms as *sakkiti*, *dakkhiti*.

As against this evidence no stress can now be laid on the argument of Oldenberg who did not accept as historical the mission of Mahinda, and held instead that Pāli came to Ceylon from Kaliṅga, a view accepted also by E. Müller, who pointed out that the oldest settlements in Ceylon were founded from the mainland opposite and not — as the Magadhan theory of Pāli suggested — from Bengal. Oldenberg supported his view by comparing Pāli with the dialect of the Khaṇḍagiri inscription. But the comparison yields nothing decisive, and there is now a substantial body of evidence which points to western India as the prime source of the Aryan element in Ceylon. Lāṭa, Gujarat, is associated with the legend of Vijaya, and, however slight is the value of that legend in other respects, there is no reason to dispute the importance of the place name, when it is found that the affinities of Sinhalese lie with the western dialects.

We must, therefore, conclude that the basis of Pāli is a western dialect; but in its literary form, in which alone we have it, it is a very mixed language of the literary type, far removed from a vernacular, and under a strong Sanskritic influence. The date of the development of this literary speech and the evolution of the Pāli Canon, doubtless on the base of older tradition largely in *Magadhan* dialects, cannot be ascertained with any certainty; probability points to a date posterior to Aśoka, the silence of whose inscriptions on the existence of the Pāli Canon is most naturally explained by the assumption that it did not then exist. The ascription of a comparatively late date is greatly supported by the fact, which must be stressed as against Rhys Davids, that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those Prākrit forms known to us. These are to be found in the north-western dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions where the maintenance in some measure of the three sibilants, the transformation of *r* into *ir* or *ur*, the maintenance of *r* in conjunction with other consonants, and the

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retention of *im* are, among other points, indications of a state of affairs linguistically older than the facts of Pāli. Even in the case of the *Girnār* dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, it would be impossible to establish the priority of Pāli. *Girnār* manifests such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants, and traces of the retention of *r* in certain consonantal combinations, as well as the use of *st* which Pāli assimilates. Moreover, it appears that it preserved for a time the distinction between the palatal and the lingual sibilants. There is accordingly nothing in the linguistic facts to throw doubt on the view that the dialect on which Pāli is based was one current some time after the Aśokan period.

To sum up the conclusions suggested by our deplorably scanty evidence we may say (1) that the Buddha's language cannot be definitely ascertained from the records, and it is only by conjecture that we can assert that it was of Kośalan rather than Magadhan type. Similarly it is purely a matter of speculation how far the *Kośalan* or Old *Ardha-Māgadhī* (if for convenience we so style it) and the *Magadhan* or *Māgadhī* corresponded with the *Ardha-Māgadhīi of the Jain texts as we have them and the Māgadhi* of the grammarians. In the former case certainly, and in the latter probably, we should allow for much dialect mixture in the later forms. (2) The teachings, or the supposed teachings of the Buddha were handed down in various dialects and in one at least of these the process of phonetic change had advanced further than is normal in our Pāli texts. (3) The Pāli texts represent the doctrines accepted by a special school which used as the language of their Canon the dialect of the educated classes of some western area, whether Kauśāmbī or Ujjayinī or some other place cannot be determined with any certainty. (4) The date of this Pāli Canon cannot be defined with any exactitude. The one source of tradition on which we have to rely insists that a Council under Aśoka determined the Canon including as an essential element the *Kathāvatthu*. The Aśokan inscriptions ignore entirely the Council, and, when Aśoka in his Bhabra edict mentions passages of special importance in the teaching of the Buddha, grave difficulties arise when supporters of the existence of the Pāli Canon in Aśoka's time seek to identify the passages, suggesting the obvious conclusion that Aśoka knew nothing of the Canon. Further, it is certain that the language of the texts known to Aśoka was not the Pāli of the Canon. Again, it is significant that even those who are inclined to

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greater faith in the tradition than it is easy to feel have much difficulty in believing that the *Kathāvatthu* is of Aśokan date, but what is clear is that this is an essential element in the tradition of the Council, and that if it is not accepted as true, it becomes extremely difficult to attach any value to the legend of the Council. We may well believe that the views embodied in the Pāli Canon were current in certain circles in Aśoka's time — it is clear that they were not the points which appealed to Aśoka himself whose *Dhamma* is far more popular — , and we can, if we like, suppose that in Aśoka's reign some steps were taken towards formulating these views in definite form and commencing the preparation of the Canon in the language we now know as Pāli. But there is no reason to accept the alleged patronage of Aśoka, and we cannot be absolutely certain that even so much respect should be paid to the tradition current in Ceylon".

Periods of the Development of Pāli

Pāli can be mentioned as an archaic Prākṛt, a middle-Indian idiom.[144] It is said that directly it has not come from Sanskrit.[145] From its several characteristic features we learn that a close relationship existed between Pāli and *Vedic*.[146] For example,[147] we see in *tvāna* (besides *tvā*), the forms *tehi, yehi — Vedic tobis, yebhis* (as opposed to Sanskrit *tais, yais*) etc. Pāli cannot be described as a homogeneous language.[148] Pāli has numerous double forms which give us an idea that it is a mixed dialect.[149] H. Kern[150] says that it is a compromise of various dialects. Minayeff[151] agrees with him. E. Kuhn[152] describes, "Even an artificial and literary language which an occasions draws materials from all possible dialects, must have had as its foundation a particular dialect". There are many dialectical peculiarities in Pāli.[153] W. Geiger mentions four different stages of development which took place in the history of the Pāli language. He describes,[154] ". . . stages of development associated with periods following one after another can be clearly distinguished in the history of the Pāli language. There are four different stages:

(1) The language of the *Gāthās*, i.e., the metrical pieces: It is of a very heterogenous character. On the one hand, it contains many archaic speech-forms which are distinguished from the old-Indian forms only phonologically; on the other hand, these are also used in it in large numbers such new formations as are wholly

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characteristic of Pāli, and they are often crossed by the archaic forms which may occur side by side with them, not seldom even in one and the same verse. In some cases the exigencies of metre might have determined the choice of the forms to be used. Particularly in those cases where verses out of an older language were translated into a later one, the use of archaic forms was liberal, because it afforded a closer approximation to the original.

(2) The language of the canonical prose: It is more homogeneous and uniform than the language of the *Gāthās.* The archaic forms diminish more and more in number and partly disappear altogether. The use of new formations is no longer accidental or arbitrary as in the oldest period of the language, but is governed by more rigid rules.

(3) The later prose of the post-canonical literature, as of the Milinda-book, the great commentaries etc. : It is based on the canonical prose and reflects its artificial and erudite usage. The differences between the first and the second period is therefore much greater than that between the second and the third. The latter is further characterised by a still more restricted use of the archaic forms.

(4) The language of the later artificial poetry, no longer possesses a homogeneous character. The authors derived their knowledge of the language and borrowed the speech-forms indiscriminately from older and later literature, and their propensity to archaism and Sanskritism is more pronounced or less in different cases".

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee[155] also gives an account of a development in the Pāli language in the earliest stage when it was closely associated with ancient India's spoken dialects. This Pāli language, which flourished from the Buddhist times and is still continuing it up to our day, has a history of 2000 years.[156] It cannot be mentioned as a uniform speech.[157] Numerous double forms inform us that it has a mixed character.[158] There are many dialectal deposits in it.[159] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gives four stages of its development. He states:[160]

"(1) The speech of the metrical portions (*gāthās*) is canonical literature, is of a very heterogeneous character. On one hand, it retains many old speech forms separated from those of the old Indo-Aryan only through sound change, while, on the other hand,

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there are the standardised forms of Pāli, which are numerous formations younger in point of time, into which these old forms have changed and which have also influenced the former (and these old and new forms not seldom occur in the same verse). At times reasons of metre determine, which of the two forms was to be employed and this happened at a time when the new form had arisen and the old one was also known. When verses, in an earlier form of speech (say those which were used in Buddha's time) were altered into a later one, the alteration was permitted when there was no violence done to the metre and when there was a close correspondence between the newer and mere old forms. (Thus, we have *raññā, jaccā, kāhāmi, kāhasi,* besides *rājinā, jātiyā, karissāmi, karissasi* — the latter are regularised later creations when the former are just phonetic modifications of old Indo-Aryan. The *Sutta Nipāta* is typical of this stratum. (Fausboll's introduction to the translation in *S.B.E.* X).

(2) The speech of the canonical prose: more uniform and more settled or fixed than that of the *gāthās.* The archaic forms are controlled and in part disappear completely. The change of archaic forms are no more random and capricious as in the older speech, but they are regulated properly by rules. The *jātaka* is typical of this stratum.

(3) The younger prose of post-canonical literature as in the *Milinda Pañha* and great commentaries, is based on (2) and displays a scholarly modification of it. The difference between (1) and (2) is greater than that between (2) and (3). (3) can be distinguished from (2) by a greater restriction of the older forms.

(4) The speech of the later artistic poetry — e.g., of *Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, Dāṭhāvaṃsa, Buddhaghosuppatti* etc., does not bear a uniform character any more like the second and the third.

The authors mostly used "Pāli" as a foreign or classical language drawn upon their knowledge of grammar and the older texts, and takes the forms from older and newer dialects indiscriminately. The archaic forms are therefore revived and more frequently used. There is a greater influence of Sanskrit which is not at all conspicuous or noticed in the first or the second".

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The Various Elements of Pāli

It is to be noted here that in sounds and in forms Old Indo-Aryan[161] changed to Middle Indo-Aryan.[162] Pāli is regarded as a speech of the early middle Indo-Aryan period which was from 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee remarks,[163] "Old Indo-Aryan changed to middle indo-Aryan in sounds and in forms, and Pāli is a speech of middle Indo-Aryan. The bulk of Pāli words are, therefore, modified old Indo-Aryan words. The modification of old Indo-Aryan to middle Indo-Aryan took place according to a number of definite rules, and words which were inherited by Pāli words show the effect of the operation of these rules — derived words, that is to say, which came to Pāli by tradition are known as *Tadbhava* words, i.e., words 'derived from that' (Sanskrit or old Indo-Aryan). The *Tadbhava* element included, therefore, the entire speech commodity which Pāli inherited from old Indo-Aryan".

Pāli took several words from Sanskrit. These words were slightly modified in Pāli to suit the speech habits of Middle Indo-Aryan.[164] But the rules of these modifications were quite different from the rules of development of old Indo-Aryan to Middle Indo-Aryan through assimilation and other laws. When the Sanskrit word maintained its pure form, we then mention it as *Tatsama* or pure *Tatsama*.[165] *Brāhmaṇa* from *babbhaṇa* or *bambhaṇa*: "compare Aśokan Inscriptions *bambhaṇa* and *babhana*, the latter represents a local *magadhan* form *babbhaṇa* which survives in the *Bihari bābhan*".[166] These pure *Tatsamas* are very rare in Pāli. Through the help of vowel which came without invitation, the Sanskrit *Tatsamas* were altered into Semi-*Tatsamas* in Pāli.[167] Thus old Indo-Aryan *ratna* became known as *ratta Tadbhava* and it also became *ratana* which was the Semi-*Tatsama*.[168] *Suryya* became *Suriya*.[169] Thus was Semi-*Tatsma tasinā — taṇhā — tṛṣnā*[170] *Sūkṣma* became *Sukhuma* which was Semi-*Tatsama*.[171] *Sumarati (smarati)* became *maharati* which was *Tadbhava* and it became *bharai* in latter Prākrt.[172] Because of the introduction of the same old Indo-Aryan word in two forms in Prākṛt — one was *Tadbhava* and the other was Semi-*Tatsama*, i.e., one became known as inherited or one came by tradition and the other was borrowed.[173] In Pāli there are *tikkha* and *tikhiṇa — tikṣma*; *taṇhā* and *tasiṇā — tṛṣnā*;[174] *aggi* and *gini* from earlier *agini — agni*;[175] *ratta* and *ratana—ratna*;[176]

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haṃsa—hassahariṣa[177] etc. There are some pure *Tatsamas* and Semi-*Tatsamas* which are very close to Sanskrit.[178] They are:[179] Skt. *nyagrodha*, Pali *Nigrodha-Tadbhava naggaodha; Susāna — mhasāna* — Skt. *Smasāna; citra — citta; bhadra—bhadda.* The pure *Tadbhava* development of *rājñā* and *rājñaḥ* became *raññā* and *rañño*, but *rajina* and *rajino* were semi-*tatsama.* It is to be noted here that anaptyxis (*svarabhakti* or *viprakarṣa*) i.e., with the help of a vowel which was uninvited — gives us an idea of Semi-*tatsama* loans from Sanskrit.[180]

It is said that the *Tadbhava, Tatsama* and Semi-*Tatsama* words in Pāli originated from the Aryan language in the main.[181] Some *Tadbhava* words came from the basic dialect of Pāli,[182] and there were also some other *Tadbhava* words and they appeared from sister dialects.[183] Thus we see *kṛta — kata* and we can refer to it as proper Pāli, but it is to be noted here that *kata* (as in *dukkata*) has originated from the eastern dialect.[184] Pāli *Paṭhavī* can be mentioned as genuine Pāli, but *Paṭhavī* has appeared from the eastern dialect.[185] *chakala* for *chagala, bakura,* for *bagura, cetī* for *cedī* etc., came from a dialect which was most probably *paiśāchī* and it is said that in it sonant consonants became surds (*K C T T P*).[186] It is known that even after Post-christian era Pāli had a history of its development. There were some late forms in Pāli.[187] In them we find the loss of a consonant or change of an aspirated stop of *H* and they give us indication that they were *Prākṛt forms.*[188] Their forms clearly show us that they did not belong to the stage of the early Middle Indo-Aryan period and *Pāli* belonged to it.[189]

When the Aryans settled in India, they gradually established their contact with the non-Aryan people and their language and as a result of this connection we find the introduction of mutual borrowings. The non-Aryans adopted the Aryan language and introduced not only many good Aryan words but also their own good words in their language. This Aryan element is known as *Deśī.*[190] In Pāli there were some words of foreign origin.[191] In *Vedic* literature we had some Babylonian words.[192] Pāli had some words from *Vedic* or old Indo-Aryan.[193] Thus *pharasu* for *parasu* which was of Sumerian origin.[194] *Pārasika, yona* (*-Yavana*) were of foreign origin,[195] *Kahāpana* originated from *kārṣāpaṇa* and its first portion was old Persian.[196] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee describes,[197] ". . . Pāli literature being mainly religious, with very

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little connection with worldly affairs, there was not much scope for that literature to register foreign words which belonged mainly to the sphere of various arts and crafts, business and commerce, and warfare. The foreign element may be described as *Videśī*, and this exhausts the various classes into which the Pāli words may be classified".

The Script of Pāli

The Mohen-jo-dāro and Harappā script can be mentioned as the oldest system of writing.[198] But this script has not yet been able to be read. It is generally accepted that the language of the Mohen-jo-dāro script was not Aryan, but it was the primitive form of Dravidian.[199] We do not know exactly who introduced this system of writing.

The Brāhmī was the oldest script which was introduced to write the Aryan language in India.[200] From the Maurya period onwards many Brāhmī inscriptions were found. With the passing of centuries an alteration of the Brāhmī script took place and through the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and Harṣavardhana scripts we find some changes in character of the Brāhmī script in Northern India.[201] The local alphabets of North India were *Sārada* and *Gurumukhi, Devanāgarī, Newari and Maithili* and then Bengali and Oriya were introduced.[202] In south India from the same Brāhmī script have appeared Tamil and *Grantha*, Malayalam and Telugu and Kannāḍā.[203] From North and South India ancient provincial forms of the Brāhmī script arrived in South and South-East Asia and also in Central Asia and they were introduced to write Sinhalese, Mon, and Burmese, Cambodian, Javanese and other languages of South and South-East Asia and in Central Asia we find the arrival of Kuchean, Khotanese and Tibetan from them.[204]

The Mauryan inscriptions in Prākṛt were regarded as the oldest written documents of Indo-Aryan.[205] According to several scholars, before Christian era, Sanskrit was used in Brāhmī.[206] Buhler mentions[207] the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet and he places it with the Finician script "through the ancient alphabet of South Arabia". Some scholars think that Finician and Brāhmī scripts had direct connection with each other.[208] Prinsep[209] tries to gives an account of the Brāhmī script's independent hieroglypic origin in India. It is interesting to note here that several Mohen-jo-dāro symbols had a close similarity with the old Brāhmī

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letters.[210] From this we conclude that in order to write the Aryan language the Brāhmī script was adopted from the old pre-Aryan script.[211] Most probably when the Aryans established themselves in the country, they had no alphabet of their own and then they took some symbols of the system of writing which was already introduced in the country, and it took place in about 1000 B.C.[212] For its development and establishment of a proper system of orthography the Brāhmī script had a history of several centuries. Because in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., Brāhmī spelling was not at all regularised.[213]

It can be mentioned here that the Brāhmī alphabet was the first "Indo-Aryan" alphabet and it is known as "the national script of the Aryan speaking Indians of Pre-christian times".[214] With this alphabet they wrote Sanskrit, and *Vedic* and their vernaculars also.[215] When Pāli appeared as a literary language in the second or third century B.C., it then took the help of the contemporary Brālımī to write its language.[216] From centuries to centuries there was a great change of the alphabet and it began to play a great role to serve Pāli and other Indo-Aryan speeches.[217] In Sri Lanka Pāli by tradition had close connection with the local script and this thing had happened in Myanmar (Burma) and Indo-China also.[218]

At first when the Europeans started engaging themselves in studying Pāli, they discovered that in Pāli manuscripts there were three alphabets namely the Sinhalese, the Myanmarese (Burmese) and the Siamese (Thai) and they were of Indian origin.[219] Turnour[220] in the thirties of the nineteenth century first printed the chronicle of Sri Lanka, the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the Roman script. He did not use the Sinhalese alphabet. Gradually, the Roman script was introduced for Pāli in Europe and in Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Indo-China.[221]

The *Devanāgarī* and Bengali scripts were introduced for Pāli in Calcutta, and the Bengali Buddhists of Chittagong began to print the *Tripitaka* in Bengali character.[222] The universities of Bombay and Allahabad gave encouragement to use the *Devanāgarī* script for Pāli.[223]

PĀLI PHONOLOGY

Pāli belongs to the Early middle Indo-Aryan stage which has the following vowels and consonantal sounds.[224] The vowels are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e* and *o* and the nasal vowels are *aṃ, iṃ* and *uṃ*.[225] The

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semi-vowels are *y* and *v*.[226] The consonants[227] are

Gutturals —*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*
Palatals — *c, ch, j, jh, ñ*
Cerebrals — *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*
Dentals — *t, th, d, dh, n*
Labials — *p, ph, b, bh, m*
Liquids — *r, l, ḷ, ḷh*
Sibilant — *s*
Aspiration — *h*

Characteristics of Pāli Phonology which was different from Old Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit

[1] The Old Indo-Aryan semi-vowels are *ṛ* and *ḷ* and they are replaced by *a, i, u, ri, ru* etc.[228] Thus:

(a) by *a* :
Skt. mṛga becomes *maga, miga, mriga, mruga.*

Skt. *gṛha* becomes *gaha; mṛtyu* becomes *maccu;*

Skt. *Mṛṣṭa* becomes *maṭṭha; ṛkṣa* becomes *achha; hṛdaya* becomes *hadaya; amṛta* becomes *amata.*[229]

(b) by *i:*
Skt. *ṇa* becomes *ina;* Skt. *kṛśa* becomes *kisa;* Skt. *śṛgāla* becomes *sigāla;* Skt. *ṛṣi* becomes *isi.*[230]

(c) by *u:*
Skt. *ṛśabha* becomes *usabha;* Skt. *pṛcbh* becomes *pucchi;* Skt. *parivṛtah* becomes *parivuta;* Skt. *Vṛṣṭi* becomes *Vutthi.*[231]

(d) by *ri* or *ru:*
Skt. *ṛtvij* becomes *iritvija;* Skt. *ṛte* becomes *rite;*

Skt. *vṛkṣa* becomes *rukkha; prāvṛta* becomes *pāruta.*[232]

(2) There was no place of the long *ṛ* in Pāli Phonology. It was entirely lost.[223]

(3) The long dipthongs '*ai*' and '*au*' become '*e*' and '*o*' respectively.[234] Thus *airāvaṇa* becomes *erāvaṇa; caityagiri* becomes *cetiyagiri; Kailāsa* becomes *Kelāsa; Vaideha* becomes *Vedeha; Gautama* becomes *Gotama;*

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auṣadha becomes *osadha; Kauravya* becomes *Koravya; sauvirarāṣṭra* becomes *soviraraṭṭha.*

(4) '*aya*' and '*ava*' become '*e*' and '*o*' respectively. Thus *Kārāpayati* becomes *Kārāpeti; Avalokayati* becomes *oloketi.*[235]

(5) *Change of Vowels:*

(i) (a) Before double consonant *a* becomes *o*:[236] It is to be noted here that from an *adheṣṭhāt* by the cerebrals *ṭṭh* we get *heṭṭha*, but not from *adhasthāt. antaḥpura* becomes *antepura; śayyā* becomes *seyyā; pariyāya* becomes *peyyāla; phalgu* becomes *pheggu.*

(b) *a* becomes *i* :[237] Thus *trapu* becomes *tipu; tamisrā* becomes *timissā.*

(c) *a* becomes *u* :[238] Thus *pañcaviṃśati* becomes *paṇṇuvīsati; nimajjati* becomes *nimujjati; parjanya* becomes *pajjuṇṇa.*

(d) *a* becomes *o* :[239] Thus *tiraska* becomes *tirokkha; Sammarṣa* becomes *Sammosa.*

(ii) (a) *ā* becomes *e* :[240] Thus *pārāvata* becomes *pārovata; mātra* becomes *metta; ācārya* becomes *ācera.*

(b) *ā* becomes *o* :[241] Thus *parāvara* becomes *parovara; doṣā* becomes *doso.*

(c) *ā* becomes *u* : when it establishes its connection with *gā* (to go) and *jñā* (to know):[242] Thus *adhvaga* becomes *addhagu; sarvajñaḥ* becomes *sabbaññu.*

(iii) (a) *i* becomes *a* :[243] Thus *gṛhiṇi* becomes *gharaṇi; pṛthivī* becomes *paṭhavī.*

(b) *i* becomes *e* :[244] Thus *iyat* becomes *etta; mañjiṭṭha* becomes *majjeṣṭha; Viṣṇu* becomes *Veṇhu; niṣka* becomes *nekkha.*

(c) *i* becomes *u* :[245] Thus *rājial* becomes *rājula; gairika* becomes *geruka.*

(d) *ī*[246] is subject to the same changes: *krīḍā* becomes *khela; gṛhitvā* becomes *gahetvā*

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(iv) (a) *u* becomes *a* :[247] Thus *aguru* becames *agaru;*

(b) *u* becomes *o* :[248] Thus *ulka* becomes *okkā; anupama* becomes *anopama; uṣṭra* becomes *oṭṭha. vyutkramati* becomes *Vokkamati.*

(v) (a) *o* becomes *i* before double consonants:[249] Thus *prasevaka* becomes *pasibbaka; prativeśaka* becomes *paṭivissaka.*

(vi) (a) *o* becomes *ā* :[250] Thus *jyostnā* becomes *juṇhā; Viśoka* becomes *Visūka.* It is to be noted here that owing to contraction of *av*, there is a change of 'o'. Thus *avaśyāya* becomes *Ussāva.*

(6) *The law of quantity.*[251] Before conjunct consonants there was shortening of long vowels. Thus *Pūrṇa* becomes *Puṇṇa; tīrtha* becomes *tittha; prāptī* becomes *pattī; dānta* becomes *danta; śākya* becomes *sakka; ātmanaḥ* becomes *attano; śānta* becomes *santa.*

(a) Sometimes there was the simplification of the double consonants and the long vowel was kept. Thus *ārjava* becomes *ājava; ūrmi* becomes *ummi, ūmi; uddhata* becomes *ūhata;*[252] *ahārṣit* becomes *ahāsi.*

(b) Sometimes there was a shortening of a long vowel and as a compensation we see the doubling of a following single consonant.[253] Thus *jānu* becomes *jaṇṇu; pañcānām* becomes *pañccaṇṇam; bahūnām* becomes *bahuṇṇanṃ; uṣṇissa* becomes *unhissa.*

(c) As a corollary of the above, the vowels *e* and *o* are to be mentioned as short before a double consonant and long before a single one.[254] Thus *seyyā, yobbana, upekkhā, mokkha* etc.

(d) Often without any compensation, the long vowels become shortened.[255] Thus *āgṛahita* becomes *āgahita; saṁkhyāta* becomes *saṁkhata; apratita* becomes *appatita; pānīya* becomes *pāniya; ācārya* becomes *ācariya (ācera); prajñāvān* becomes *paññavā.*

(e) Mostly in the case of propositions we see the

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lengthening of short vowels.[256] Thus *prātimokṣa* becomes *pātimokkha; prakaṭa* becomes *pākaṭa; pravacana* becomes *pāvacana.*

Some of these cases may be mentioned as compensatory for the loss of a consonant.[257]

When there is dropping of the nasal, we see often the lengthening of nasalized vowels.[258] Thus *siṁha* becomes *sīha; viṁśati* becomes *vīsati; daṁṣṭrā* becomes *dāṭhā; daṁśa* becomes *dāsa; triṁśat* becomes *tīsa.*

The Law of Mora[259]

In the construction of Pāli words, the law of Mora plays a very significant role. In Pāli a syllable has only one mora or two moras but not more than two. Thus it begins with short vowel (one mora) or begins with long vowel (two moras) or it closes with short vowel. Every syllable with a nasal vowel is mentioned as closed. There is no occurrence of long nasal vowels. It is because of this law of Mora, Pāli has short vowel before double consonant, e.g., in Pāli *sutti*, in Sanskrit *śukti;* or long vowel with the following double consonant simplified. Thus :

(a) *Jīṃa* becomes *jiṇṇa; māṃsa* becomes *maṃsa; nadīṃ* becomes *nadiṃ.* The vowels *e, o* are short in such cases: *śleṣman* becomes *sĕmha; oṣṭha* becomes *oṭṭha.*

(b) *lākṣā* becomes *lākhā; dīrgha* becomes *dīgha.* In case of the vowels *e, o,* "the orthography in the *MSS* varies not infrequently". Thus *apekṣā* becomes *apĕkkhā; apekhā; upekṣā* becomes *upĕkkhā* and *upĕkhā; vimokṣa* becomes *vimokkha* and *vimokha.*

Due to the Law of Mora several changes have taken place.

(1) In Pāli there is long vowel before single consonant. Thus *sarṣapa* becomes *sāsapa; valka* becomes *vāka; niryāti* becomes *nīyāti.*

(2) In Pāli there is short vowel before double consonant. It is to be noted here that originally there was long vowel before a single consonant. Thus *ābṛhati* becomes *abbahati; nīḍa* becomes *niḍḍa; udūkhala* becomes

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udukkhala (beside *udūhala); Kūvara kubara* become *kubbara; paiṭrka* becomes *petika; mahābala, mahāphala* become *mahabbala, mahapphala.*

(3) Like the long, the short nasal vowel possesses two moras, then in the place of a pure long vowel a nassal sometimes appear. Thus *maṭkuna* becomes *maṃkuṇa; śarvari* becomes *saṃvarī; śulka* becomes *suṃka* instead of *sūka, sūka; gharṣati* becomes *ghaṃṣati; vidarśayanti* becomes *vidaṃsentī; viṃśati* becomes *vīsati; siṃha* becomes *sīha; saṃrambha* becomes *sārambha.*

Sometimes a long vowel is kept before double-consonant. Thus *sā ajj* becomes *sājja; dussīla* becomes *dussīlya; dārvī* becomes *dābbi; dātra* becomes *dātta;*

(4) A long vowel preceding the consonant group is shortened regularly even in the case of the separation of a consonant group by a vowel which is known as *svarabhakti*[260] In these cases the two one-mora syllables become one two-mora syllables. Thus *suriya* (instead of *suyya*) becomes *sūrya; pakiriya* becomes *prakirya; Moriya* becomes *Mourya.*[261] The insertion of the *svarabhakti* vowel never tries to disturb the length of a following vowel. Thus *gilāna* becomes *glāna.*[262] In the case of the originally monosyllabic words like *itthi=strī; sirī=śrī; hirī=hrī,* this law tries to act in some cases.[263] In compounds these words keep short vowel. Thus *itthiratana, hirimāna* etc.[264]

(5) Without any compensation there was dropping of vowels.[265] Thus *duhitā* becomes *dhītā; alaṁkāra* becomes *laṁkāra; api* becomes *pi; eva* becomes *va.*

Consonants[266]: Pāli has all the Sanskrit consonants except *śa* and *ṣa* or *ś* and *ṣ* (palatal and cerebral). Dental *ś* and cerebral *ṣ* replaced them and under certain circumstances become *h.* Thus *sasura* becomes *śvaśur; soṇhā* becomes *snuṣā.*

(i) (a) *Kṛṣṇa* becomes *kaṇha; kāśigrāmaka* becomes *kāsigāmaka; garga* becomes *gagga; Gandharva* becomes *Gandhabba.*[267]

(b) *Cakravartī* becomes *cakkavattī; caitya* becomes

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cetiya.[268]

(c) *Tarka* becomes *takka; tiṣya* becomes *tissa; sthavira* becomes *thera.*[269]

(d) *Prajñā* becomes *paññā; padma* becomes *paduma.*[270]

(e) *Yaśya* becomes *yasa; rakta* becomes *ratta.*[271]

(f) *Śākya* becomes *sakka; sudarśana* becomes *sudassana; saṣtri* becomes *saṭṭi.*[272]

(ii) In Pāli there was a change of Sanskrit consonants.[273]

(a) *Kuṇḍa* becomes *Cuṇḍa; Cetaka* becomes *Cetaka; saṁskṛta* becomes *sakkaṭa; yaṣṭi* becomes *laṭṭhi; lalāta* becomes *malāta.*[274]

(b) There were softening of hard consonants: Thus *pṛṣata* becomes *pasada; uta* becomes *uda; ruta* becomes *ruda.*[275]

(c) *Ya* becomes *d:* Thus *goyāna* becomes *godāna; khādita* becomes *khāyita.*[276]

(d) There was a change in the conjunct consonants: Thus *mukta* becomes *mutta; dugdha* becomes *duddha; sabda* becomes *sadda.*[277]

(6) In Pāli there is a system to retain *l,* but it very often tries to show *r* when in the corresponding Sanskrit form there is *l.* This indicates the arise of Pāli from a dialect wherein there was the predominance of the *r* element.[278]

(7) There was the assimilation of the conjunct consonants in the Pāli phonology. This can be regarded as one of the greatest peculiarities. There was the system to retain the sibilant or the semi-vowel by a stop in this assimilation: Thus *sṭ — ṭṭh; kr — kk; tr — tth.*[279] But it is to be noted here that in conjunction with *y,* there was the survival of *y:* Thus *udyāna* becomes *uyyāna.*[280]

In this assimilation there were several exceptions:[281]

(i) There was a system to retain *r* with initial conjuncts: *brāhmaṇa* becomes *brāhmaṇa.*

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(ii) Initially there was no assimilation of a conjunction but there was a system of simiplification: thus *sthita* becomes *thita* or *ṭhita.*

(8) There was the assimilation of medial *visarga:* Thus *puṣkara* becomes *pekkhara; duṣkara* becomes *dukkara* or *dukkhara.* But in final stage we see the loss of a *visarga* when it tries to follow *a—aḥ* become *o* but sometimes due to *Ardha-Māgadhī* influence there was *e.*[282]

(9) Pāli mentions the loss of all final consonants, but there was an exception of *anusvara.* Thus *mahan* becomes *maha.*[283] But sometimes there was a system of retaining a final consonant with the help of a basic vowel '*a*'. It is called basic vowel because it tries to form a base. Thus *mahant* becomes *mahā* but *mahants* also where with the help of 'a' to the base it was done.[284] In later times there was a system to make them vowel bases by avoiding consonantal bases.[285]

(10) Occasionally there were losses of inter-vocalic consonants and *y* and *v* glides replace them.[286] Thus *Śuka* becomes *suva; nija* becomes *niya; svādate* becomes *svadati* and *sāyati.* Due to the influence of the Prākrit dialects this was possible. Owing to this reason also other changes take place. Thus *gh, dh,* and *bh* become *h: laghu, laghuka* become *lahu, lahuka; rudhira* becomes *ruhira; bhavati* becomes *bhoti* and *bhoti* becomes *hoti.*

In some cases there was happening of the opposite process: Thus '*gh*', '*dh*', '*bh*', in Pāli take the place of 'h' in Sanskrit. *Hasmati* becomes *ghammati; iha* becomes *idha.*[287]

(11) Owing to the influence of a Prākṛt we find the voice of an intervocalic vowel. Thus Skt. *sruc* becomes *srucā* which becomes *sujā; utāho* becomes *udāhu; pratikṛtya* becomes *paṭikicca* which becomes *paṭigacca.*[288]

(12) Owing to the influence of North-western or *Paiśāchī* Prākṛt sometimes there was no voice of an intervocalic voiced consonant. Thus *chagala* becomes *chakala; vāgurā* becomes *vāgurā; parikha* becomes *palikha; mṛdaṅga*

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becomes *mutiṅga; prādur* becomes *pātu.*[289]

(13) The appearance of aspiration sporadically takes place.[290] Thus *kubja* becomes *khujja; bisa* becomes *bhisa; alābū* becomes *alāpu, lāpu.*

(14) In connection with *ṛ* or *r* there was the cerebralisation of dental consonants. Thus *hṛta* becomes *hata; prathama* becomes *paṭhama; sṛthira* becomes *saṭhila.*[291]

(15) Sometimes there was the cerebralisation of a dental consonant in a spontaneous way. Thus *pataṅga* becomes *paṭaṅga; Vataṁsa* becomes *vaṭaṁsa; saṁdaṁśa* becomes *saṃdāsa.*[292]

(16) Sometimes through an intermediate stage *d, ḍ* become *r.* Thus *īdṛśa* becomes *eḍisa* which becomes *erisa; ekādasa* becomes *ekāḍasa* which becomes *ekārasa.*[293]

(17) In Pāli there was the appearance of Sanskrit *y* and *m* sometimes as *v.* Thus *āyudha* becomes *āvudha; mṛgayā* becomes *migavā; ayuṣmān* becomes *āvuso; trayastriṁśat* becomes *tāvatiṁsa.*[294]

(18) *Normal Vowels*[295]

(a) *agni* becomes *aggi; agra* becomes *agga; artha* becomes *aṭṭha; acyuta* becomes *accuta.*

(b) *Indra* becomes *Inda; ṛṣigiri* becomes *Isigili; Īśadhara* becomes *Īsadhara.*

(c) *Uṭkaṇṭhita* becomes *ukkaṇṭhita; bhikṣu* becomes *bhikkhu; ugra* becomes *ugga; kubja* becomes *khujja.*

(d) *eka* becomes *eka; eṇī* becomes *eṇī.*

(e) *purohitaḥ* becomes *purohita; gopālaputraḥ* becomes *gopālaputto; kapataḥ* becomes *kapota.*

Phonological Terms

(1) *Assimilation*[296]

When there is an influence of neighbouring sounds in other sound or when in other sounds there is an influence of one of the neighbouring sounds, then this phenomenon

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is known as Assimilation. Thus *vṛṣti* becomes *vuṭṭhi; satya* becomes *sacya — sacca; mṛṇāla* becomes *munāla; ālambhana* becomes *ārammana.*

(2) *Dissimilation*[297]

It can be described as opposite of Assimilation. There are two neighbouring similar sounds, but, of them, one plays a different role from the other. This is called Dissimilation. Thus *cikitsati* becomes *cikicchati* or *tikicchati; jugupsati* becomes *jigucchati* becomes *digucchati; Lāṅgala* becomes *Naṅgala.*

(3) *Metathesis*[298]

In a word there is an inversion of etymological position of a sound. This is called Metathesis. Thus *Kareṇu* becomes *kaṇeru. Masaka* becomes *Makasa; hṛada* becomes *harada — rahada- hada — daha;* karyāta becomes *kariyat — kariya — kayira*

(4) *Syncope*[299]

Between two consonants there is a loss of a vowel. This system is known as Syncope. Thus *khalu* beocmes *khlu — khu — kho; udaka* become *udka — utka — ukka — oka.*

(5) *Haplology or Syllable Syncope*[300]

But of two similar syllables which occur together there is the loss of a syllable. This is called Haplology or syllable Syncope. Thus *madhuga* becomes *madhudhugha; aḍḍhatiya* becomes *aḍḍhatatiya — arddhatṛitiya; pavissāmi* becomes *pavisissāmi.*

(6) *Anaptyxis*[301]

Between two vowels there is the insertion of a vowel. This is called Anaptyxis. Thus *sneha* becomes *sineha; garha* becomes *garaha; sukṣma* becomes *sukhuma; snusā* becomes *sunusā* — sunisā.

(7) *Prothesis*[302]

At the head of a word which generally begins with conjunct consonants there is the insertion of a vowel. This is known as Prothesis. Thus *stri* becomes *itthi; smayate*

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becomes *umhayate* or *umhayati*.

(8) *Epenthesis*[303]

This can be mentioned as the anticipation of a following vowel. In Middle Indo-Aryan this phenomenon is very restricted but in late middle or modern Bengali this occurs very frequently. This is called Epenthesis. Thus *hāriyā* becomes *hāiriyā — here*; *kariyā* becomes *kairiyā — kore*; *mani* becomes *asmaini — men*; *āścaryya* becomes *acchariya — acchaira — acchera*; *kārya* becomes *kāriya — kairia — kera*; *sthavira* becomes *sthaira — thaira — thera*.

(9) *Umlaut or vowel mutation (Abhiśruti)*[304]

This can be mentioned as the contraction of an epenthetic vowel with the proceeding one. Thus *hāriyā* becomes *hāiriyā — here; mani* becomes *maini — men*.

An allied phenomenon becomes known as vowel harmony. When there is an influence of a proceeding or a following vowel in another, then it is known as vowel harmony. Thus *bilāti* becomes *biliti; deśi* becomes *disi*.[305]

(10) *Ablaut*[306]

There are old Indo-European languages which are characterised by a peculiar vowel that shifts dependent upon a shift of the accent or on its change of quality. This phenomenon is known as Ablaut. In the radical vowel or in basic affixial or terminational vowels there is an appearance of Ablaut change.

Ablaut change can be noticed in a very clear way when this language had retained the Indo-European vowels more seriously than any other. In Old Indo-Aryan there is a partial obscure of Ablaut gradation as here the Indo-European short vowels — *a, e, o* — *a* and long vowels *ā, ē, ō* —*ā*.[307]

There are three gradations in Ablaut change.[308] They are: (1) Normal or Strong; (2) Lengthened and (3) Weak or Reduced. It is said that there is an appearance of the accent on the vowel in the strong or normal gradation and a qualitative change may take place such as *e* : *o* or *ē* :

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ō. There is an appearance of the vowel long in the lengthened grade, and there is a qualitiative change. Thus *ē* becomes *ō*. Either there is the reduction of the vowel to the nautral vowel *o* or there is the entire loss of the vowel in the weak or reduced grade.

Owing to the nature of the radical vowel, there are four types of Ablaut gradation. They are (i) *e* series; (ii) *ē* series; (iii) *o* series; and (iv) *ȯ* series.[309] Thus *N. G. L. G. W. G.*:

ped : pod pēd : pōd pd bd

e : o e : o nil : pédi póda pēs pēdo
epi- bd- ai- pádam pādam upabda kāra kṛta.[310]

In the middle and new Indo-Aryan only there is the survival of Ablaut in the causative.[311]

N.G.	*L.G.*	*W.G.*
dhē : dhō	*dhe* (Indo-European)	*dh ò*
		Old Indo-Ayan *hita*
tithēmi		*dh ò to*
dhidhemi		
O	do	
dōnam, dōnum		à or nil
		sd ā to *ded*—tó
		Old Indo-Aryan *ádita, dattàh*
M.L.	√*stā*, √*sthā*	W.G.
		st ō
stā		*st ā tó*
é—st—t		*statós status*
esta—este		*sthita*[312]
asthāt		

Phonology of the Pāli Vowels

In the development of Old Indo-Aryan to middle Indo-Aryan, generally in the case of the vowels, we think that like Indo-European *r* and *l*, the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷ*, which appeared between two consonants and which played the role of a vowel, were lost to Pāli and in their place some other vowel were used as substitutes

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or in some rare cases there was the use of *ā + i* or *u*.[313] For simplification there was the use of simple vowels *e* and *o* in place of the long dipthongs *ai* and *au* and were lost.[314] In Pāli there was the development of *è* and *ò* before double consonants.[315]

According to the normal rule in *Pāli*,[316] there was a long vowel before one single consonant and long vowel plays the role of a short vowel before two consonants.[317] Thus old Indo-Aryan— *Kāryya, mārga, jīrna, kūrca* appear in Pāli as *kayya, magga, jinna* and *koccha* (for *kūccha*).

Owing to several forms like *lākkhā, dīgha, sāsapa, vākā* etc. which are equal to Old Indo-Aryan *lākṣā, dīrgha, sarṣapa* and *valka*, there is a problem in Pāli. Thus *lākkhā, diggha, sassaopa* and *vakka* are the expected Pāli forms.[318] "In the development of Indo-Aryan, the forms which are in actual use in Pāli viz. those with a long vowel and a single consonant really belong to New Indo-Aryan and not middle Indo-Aryan stage: *Cf.* Bengali *lāha* and *lā, dīgha-la*, and *vākala*. There is no doubt that the current Pāli forms are not based on the actual spoken ones — they are artificial ones, — otherwise they will have to be described as being born before their time. The key to this anomaly is found in the imperfect orthography of the Brāhmī script in pre-Christian times".[319]

According to the normal rule a short vowel occurs before double consonants and a long vowel occurs before a single consonant.[320] Many Old Indo-Aryan words were changed in Pāli to their vowel and consonantal quantity. In order to make up, the quantity was shifted from the vowel to the consonant. "If *diggha* could be substituted by *dīgha, nīḍa*, changes itself to *niḍḍa* without any specific reason. Similarly, *udūkhala — udukkhala, kūvara — kuvvara, mahābala—mahabbala*. Here probably was an unconscious working of the principle of compensation within the language; every rule violated in one place appears to be paralleled by another violation of an opposite nature".[321]

Generally in the case of semi-*tatsama* forms, barring the intrusive vowels, usually there is no disturbance of the vowel length of the original form, although we find some exceptions.[322] In such words we will see the shortening of a long vowel. Thus *glāna* becomes *gilāna; caitya* becomes *cetiya; mauryya* becomes *moriya; Śrī* becomes *siri*. But *Sūryya* becomes *suriya; sūkṣma*

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becomes *sukhuma; vīryya* becomes *viriya.*[323]

The Vowels *a, i,* and *u*

Normally in open or in close syllables, the vowel '*a*' exists.[324] like *calati, canda, cakkavāka* etc. But in several words we find as *ĕ.* Thus *phalgu* becomes *phĕggu; śayyā* becomes *sayyā* (in order to change the palatal vowel which helps to modify the word here *y* becomes a reason); *atra* becomes *ĕttha;* Skt. *adhasthāt* becomes *adheṭṭhā — aheṭṭhā — heṭṭhā* in Pāli.[325] W. Geiger mentions that *heṭṭha* is derived not from *adhasthāt* but from an *adhesthāt.* This is due to the cerebrals *ṭṭh. I* and *U* both existed, but when there was a double consonant or a consonantal group, there occurred an inter-change between *i* and *e,* and between *u* and *o.*[326] Thus *i* and *u* become *e* and *o. Viṣṇu* becomes *veṇhu — viṇhu; niṣka* becomes *nekkha; uṣṭra* becomes *oṭṭha; kūrcha* becomes *keccha; ulkāmukkha* becomes *okkāmukha; vyutkramati* becomes *vokkamati; rāmaṇiya* becomes *rāmaniyya — rāmaneyya; dakṣiniya* becomes *dakṣiniyya — dakkhiṇeyya; urubilvā* becomes *uruvillā — uruvell ā — uruvelā* — this is the expected Pāli form.[327] *ūrjā* becomes *ojjā — ujjā.*

In several words *a* long *i* and *u* in open syllables appear as *e* and *o.*[328] Thus *idṛśa* becomes *idṛkṣa — edisa — erisa — edikkha — erikkha — idṛś — edi;* Skt. *gudūcī* becomes Pkt. *goruci* becomes Pāli *goluci. Jambūnada* becomes *Jambonada; āpiḍā* becomes *āvedā – āveḍḍā – āviḍḍā – āveḷā – āvḷā.* Most probably in these words there is the shortening of the long vowel as also the doubling of the following consonant and then the shortened vowel becomes *e* or *o* and then through improper graphic notation there is dropping of one of the double consonants.[329] Skt. *mahiṣī* becomes *mahesī.*

The Treatment of *Ṛ* and *Ḷ*

Old Indo-Aryan *ṛ* and *ḷ* were regarded as liquid consonant sounds and they played the part of a vowel between the two consonants.[330] Thus *kṛta, pitṛṣu.* Before the development of Middle Indo-Aryan, these consonants acting like vowels became a genuine vowel "before or after itself as a prop or support".[331] In the Middle Indo-Aryan period the dropping of *r* took place and the intrusive vowel alone existed.[332] The vowels which played the role of substitutes for *ṛ* and *ḷ* were *a, i,* and *u.*[333] Generally this *u* came

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after labials.[334] Thus Skt. *ṛkṣa* becomes *accha — ikka; pṛṣata* becomes *pasada* (*pasata*); *vṛka* becomes *vaka; hṛdaya* becomes *hadaya.* Sometimes *i* came for *ṛ* in *ṛksa* which become *ikka; ṛna* becomes *ina; vṛścika* becomes *vicchika.*[335] *U* for *ṛ*[336] in *ṛju* becomes *uju* (*ujju*); *ṛṣabha* becomes *usabha; pṛcchati* becomes *pucchati; mṛṇāla* becomes *muḷāla; prāvṛṣa* becomes *pāvusa.* Some different vowels are found in some words.[337] Thus *accha ikka; maga* becomes *miga — mṛga; vaḍḍhi* becomes *vuddhi — vṛddhi; ina* becomes *aṇa* as we find in *anaṇa, anṛṇa, kaṇha* becomes *kiṇha — kṛṣṇa; pathavī, paṭhavī, puṭhavī, puthuvī — pṛthivī.* This case in the vocabulary of Pāli refers to dialectal mix up.[338]

Places where the preservation of r has done and ṛ vowel becomes consonant:[339]

There are some cases where *r* was preserved. This was possible owing to Sanskrit influences. Thus Skt. *Ṛgveda* becomes *iruveda, irruvveda; vṛhant* becomes *brahā* and *brahant; vṛkṣa* becomes *rukkha; prāvṛta* becomes *pāruta; apāvṛta* becomes *apāruta.*

Treatment of ḷ[340]

Sometimes in place of *ḷ* we find *u, e,* and *g.* Thus *kipta* becomes *kutta.*

The Dipthongs[341]

The four dipthongs (*sandhyakṣara*) — *āī* and *āū* and long dipthongs *āi* and *āu* belong to the oldest stage of Indo-Aryan. Before consonants these short dipthongs are able to establish their connection with *ē* and *ō* but before vowels are known as *ay* and *av.* Thus √*dīś* becomes *daiśa* becomes *deśa;* √*jī* becomes *jai-a* becomes *jaya;* √*budh* becomes *baudha* becomes *budha* √*śru* becomes *srau* becomes *śravaḥ. Āi* and *Āu* are the long dipthongs and at first their element is long but they become *ai* and *au* before a consonant, and before a vowel they are able to change to *āy* and *āu.* Thus √*nī* becomes *nai+aka — nāyaka; nāu+ika — nāvika.*

In Middle Indo-Aryan[342] *āi* and *āv* as well as *ay* and *av* are the long dipthongs and the resultant forms of the short dipthongs. They are changed to the simple vowels *e* and *o.* Thus *airāvana* becomes *erāvana; maitrī* becomes *metti; vai* becomes *ve; aurasa* becomes *orasa; paura* becomes *pora; rātrau* becomes *ratto; kathayati* becomes *katheti; avasara* becomes *osara.*

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In some cases before double consonants *e* or *o* becomes *i* or *u*. The same thing occurs in cases of *āi* and *āu* as well as *ay* and *av*.[343] Thus *prativeśyaka* becomes *paṭivessaka* becomes *pativissaka*; *ud+vella* becomes *uvvella* becomes *uvvilla; dvenam* becomes *dvěnnaṁ* becomes *dvinnaṁ; ubhenam* becomes *ubhěnnam* becomes *ubhinnaṁ; śroṣyāmi* becomes *sussaṁ, sussaṁ, gěnāṁ — gŏnnam* becomes *gūnnaṁ; āiśvaryya* becomes *ēssariya* becomes *issariya; saindhava* becomes *sēndhava* becomes *sindhava; āutsukya* becomes *ossuka* becomes *ūssuka; raudra* becomes *rōdda* becomes *lōdda* becomes *ludda; avaśyāya, ossāya, ūssāva* become *ussāa, ussā, ōssā, os; asrauṣma* becomes *assumha.*

Influence of Neighbouring Sounds upon Vowels

(1) *Influence of a following vowel:*[344]

In this case we find an *i* becomes *u* and *a* also becomes *i* or *u*. Thus *śiśu* becomes *susu; iṣu* becomes *usu; ikṣu* becomes *ucchu; kiṣku* becomes *kukku; samudga* becomes *sumugga* (*samugga*); *asūyā* becomes *usūya, usuyyā; sarisṛpa* becomes *siriṃsapa.*

(a) *ikṣu* becomes *ikkhu* becomes *ikh; akṣu* becomes *okkhu* becomes *āukh* becomes *āukh* becomes *ākh; ukṣu* becomes *ukkhu* becomes *ūkh; ucchu* becomes *ūs.*[345]

There are other examples: *Samudga* becomes *sumugga; kiknasa* becomes *kikkasa; kikkusa* becomes *kukkusa; asūyā* becomes *usūyā, usuyyā.*[346]

(b) *U* becomes *a* before following *a: Thus kūrpara* becomes *kappara.*[347]

(2) There is an influence of a preceding vowel upon the following words:[348]

(a) *a* becomes *u* after preceding *u:* Thus *udaṅka* becomes *uḷuṅka; kuruṇḍa* becomes *kuraṇḍa; kuruṅga* becomes *kuraṅga; pukkaśa* becomes *pukkusa; pṛthajjan* becomes *puthajjan* becomes *puthujjana.*

(b) *i* becomes *a* after preceding *a:* Thus *aliñjara*

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becomes *arraañjara; kākiṇikā* becomes *kākaṇikā; puskariṇī* becomes *pokkharaṇī.*

(c) *U* becomes *a* after preceding *a*: Thus *āyuṣmant* becomes *āyasmant; mastaluṅga* becomes *matthaluṅga; śaskulī* becomes *sakkhalī.*

(d) *a* becomes *i* after preceding *i*: Thus *sṛṅgavera* becomes *siṅgivera* becomes *siṅgivera; niṣaṇṇa* becomes *nisinna.*

There are some cases where a vowel is modified by a neighbouring consonant.[349] Thus *nimagna* becomes *nimugga. saṃmārjanī* becomes *saṃmujjanī, saṁmuñjanī* becomes *sammajjanī; muta, mutīmā, muti* becomes *mata, matimān, mati; nimajjati* becomes *nimujjati; ummajjati* becomes *ummujjati.* It is to be noted here that a labial consonant has changed the vowel into *u* in all the cases mentioned above.[350] Thus *majjā* becomes *miṇjā; miñjā; jugupsā* becomes *jigucchā; bhūyas* or *bhūyaḥ* becomes *bhiyyo.*[351] Here, under the influence of the palatal sound of *j* or *y*, the vowel becomes *i.*[352]

Influence of Accent on Vowels[353]

In old Indo-Aryan (*Vedic*) the accent was regarded as a pitch or musical one. In this there was an emphasis to raise the tone of voice. The result was that there was an alternation of the rise and fall of the voice in speaking. Sometimes this accent was placed on the root and sometimes it was on the termination. Thus *emi* but *imah.* In Middle Indo-Aryan, this old free speech became a fixed stress. This Middle Indo-Aryan stress in the middle or towards the end of the word placed itself on a long syllable. This stress became very strong for an unstressed vowel near a stressed syllable which was very strong also. It moves in such a way that "it has a tendency to be weakened or to be fairly dropped". This generally happens in strongly stressed languages which are Bengali and English. It is not possible to know in detail about the development of the accent system in Pāli.

There are several cases in Pāli where due to absence of stress and contiguity or nearness of a strongly stressed syllable, we find the loss or the weakening of vowels.[354] Similarly owing to accession of stress there is lengthening of a weak syllable.[355]

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(1) Weakening of *a* to *i* or *u*:[356] Thus *candramā, candramās* become *candimā; carama* becomes *carima; putramā* becomes *puttimā; madhyama* becomes *majjhima; ahaṁkāra* becomes *ahiṁkāra; navati* becomes *navuti; sammati* becomes *sammuti; prāvaraṇa* becomes *pāvuraṇa, pāpuraṇa; brahmanah* becomes *bramhuno.* In the middle of words there are unstressed short vowels which are syncoped frequently. Thus *jāgarati, jāg 'rati'* becomes *jaggati, udaka, ud 'ka', ukka* becomes *okka* becomes *oka, agāra* through weakening *agara* becomes *agra* and becomes *agga* in Pāli.

(2) Occasionally after the accent, syllable *i* changes to *u* and *u* changes to *i.* Thus *rājila* becomes *rājula; gairika* becomes *geruka; prasita* becomes *pasuta; mṛdutā* becomes *muditā.*[357]

Weakening of a long syllable before an accented one is found in *kahāpana kārṣāpana; Nigrodha* becomes *nyagrodha; susāna* becomes *śvaśāna* becomes *śmasāna.*[358] The Skt. *'dvi'* in compounds becomes *'du'* in Pāli.[359] Thus *dvividha* becomes *duvidha. Thapeti — uṭṭhāpeti — uṭṭhapeti —* Skt. *sthāpayati; jñāpayati* and *jñāpayati* become *paññāpeti* and *paññapeti; krīṇāti* becomes *kiṇāti* in Pāli, which due to analogy of forms, has lost its long vowel.[360] Weakening of final unaccented vowels:[361] Thus Skt. *assau* becomes *asu* in Pāli. *Sadyaḥ* or *Sedayas* becomes *sajju* or *sajjo* in Pāli; *sārddham* becomes *saddhim; śanaih* or *śanaṃ* becomes *saṇim* in Pāli; *svid* at the end of forms becomes *su* or *ssu* in Pāli. *Kiṁsvid* becomes *kimsu* in Pāli.

There is shortening of a penultimate long syllable: or due to the shifting of the accent to the first syllable we see that the long second syllable was shortened from the beginning:[362]

Thus *alīka* becomes *alika; gṛhīta* .becomes *gahita; pānīya* becomes *pāniya; valmīka* becomes *vammika; dvitīya* becomes *dutiya; tṛtīya* becomes *tatiya.*

Owing to accession of stress we find lengthening of an initial short syllable.[363] Thus *ahinda* becomes *ālinda; ajira* becomes *ājira; anubhāva* becomes *ānubhāva; aroga* becomes *āroga; umā* becomes *ummā* (lengthening by doubling); *kumārga* becomes *kummagga; pratibhoga* becomes *pāṭibhoga; pratyeka* becomes *pāṭiyekka.*

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Contraction of Vowels[364]

In Old Indo-Aryan the syllables *y, r, l, v* are found in a root or in an affix and they would omit the vowel *a* in some cases and the resultant *y, r, l, v,* which are found before a consonant, act like a vowel and they appear respectively *i, ṛ, ḷ* and *u.*[365] The ancient Indian grammarians refer to it as '*saṃprasāraṇ*'.[366] or '*saṃprasāraṇa*'. Thus √*yaj* — *ij* — *jā;* √*Vad* — *ud* as in *anudita, udita.* Pāli gives us several cases of such contraction in connection with the semi-vowels *y* and *v* and in Pāli there are also cases of contraction of a long *ā.*[367] Thus *vyativṛtta* becomes *vitivatta; dvyaha* and *tryaha* become *dvīha* and *tīha; styāna* becomes *thīna; śvān* becomes *sūna; svasti* becomes *sutthi* becomes *sottai; śvabhra* becomes *subbha* and *sobbha;* There are special cases of contraction. Thus *dveṣa, dveṣaṇīya* become *doṣa* and *dosanīya.*[368]

An assimilation of *y* and *v* takes place after a consonant.[369] Thus *tyajati* becomes *tajati.*

The groups *aya* and *ava* become *e* and *o.*[370] Thus *jayati* becomes *jeti; adhyayama* becomes *ajjhena; kathayati* becomes *katheti.* In some cases there is a preservation of *aya* in Pāli.[371] Thus *nayana* and *sayana* besides *sena* in *senāsana,* i.e., *sayana* and *āsana. Ava* becomes *O.* Thus *avadhi* becomes *odhi; bhavati* becomes *bhoti; avama* becomes *oma; pravana* becomes *poṇa; yavana* becomes *yona; lavaṇa* becomes *loṇa; avarodha* becomes *orodha; upavasatha* becomes *uposatha.*

There are other cases of contraction.[372] These cases occur when two vowels appear side by side or between the two vowels when the semi-vowels *y* and *v* appear.

(1) *Aya* becomes *ā:* Thus *pratisaṁlayana* becomes *patisallāna; svestyayana* becomes *sotthāna.* (2) *Āya* becomes *ā: kātyāyana* becomes *kaccāna; Maudgalyāyana* becomes *Moggallāna; abhiññā* for *abhiññāya; chamā* for *chamārya.*

There are cases where no contraction takes place. Thus *vayasa, jayati, pāvaka, śāvaka* etc.; also *kavāṭa, pavāḷa, dayālu* etc.

There are cases where *Ayi* and *Avi* are changed to *o.*[373] Thus *āscaryya* becomes *acchariya, acchariya, acchariya* becomes *acchera; ācāryya* becomes *ācariyo, acera; sthavira* become *thera; mātsaryya* becomes *macchera; bhaviṣyati* becomes *hessati;*

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accāyika becomes *acceka;*

Iya was changed to i or *i.* Thus *kiyattaka* becomes *kittaka.*[374] There is a peculiar case.[375] Thus *mayura* becomes *maura* becomes *mora.*

Āva becomes *O;* Thus *atidhāvana* becomes *atidhona.*

In Pāli the prepositions *upa* and *apa* are changed to *ū* and *ō* through the stage *uva* and *ava.*[376] Thus *upahadati* becomes *ūhadeti; upahasana* or *upahasita* becomes *ūhasana; apavasaka* becomes *Ōvasaka; apavaraka* becomes *ovaraka.*

Viprakarṣa or Anaptyxis, i.e., Intensive Vowels[377]

In Pāli there are cases where there is no assimilation of consonant conjuncts.[378] But owing to intrusive vowels we see the division in them, and in this way preservation of the component elements of the conjuncts takes place.[379] There are also several cases of intrusive vowels ("Prothesis") and in such a case there is no avoidance of the assimilation.[380] There are examples of Prothesis but which are very rare. Thus *itthi* becomes *strī; umhayati* becomes *smayate; irubbeda* becomes *Ṛgveda.*

The intrusive vowel sometimes comes in the middle of a word.[381] This is called *Svarabhakti* in connection with the *Vedic* (*darśata — daraśata; indirā — indrā*) and it is known as *Viprakarṣa* in Prākṛt.[382] Forms with these intrusive vowels are regarded as the main modified borrowings of Sanskrit. There are some cases where an inherited form with assimilation, viz., a *Tadbhava* appears side by side with another form of the same word with *Viprakarṣa.*[383] Thus *tikṣna* becomes *tikhiṇa* beside *tikkha; ratna* becomes *ratana* beside *ratta; iryyā* (consideration) becomes *iriyā; sūryya* becomes *suriya; maryyādā* becomes *mariyāda; prcchyate* becomes *pucchiyati; jyā* becomes *jiyā; vajra* becomes *vajirā; Śrī* becomes *siri; hrī* becomes *hiri; hyaḥ* becomes *hiyyo; hlāda* becomes *hilāda; glāna* becomes *gilāna; sneha* becomes *sineha; tṛṣṇā* becomes *tasina* becomes *taṇhā; agni* becomes *agini* becomes *gini; rājñā* becomes *rājinā* becomes *raññā; garhati* becomes *garahati; arhati* becomes *arahati; antaḥ-√dhā* becomes *antaradhāyati; usma* becomes *usuma; sūkṣma* becomes *sukhuma; krura* becomes *kurura; smarati* becomes *sumarati; prāpnoti* becomes *pāpunāti* becomes *pappoti.*[384]

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Verse and Vowel Quantity[385]

The Pāli Vowel system was mentioned as a flexible one and it was not very rigid like the Old Indo-Aryan.[386] We find that a greater latitude was given in the matter of vowel length in the metrical line.[387] For this reason there are short syllables which became lengthened either by adding quantity to the vowel or by doubling the following consonant.[388] Thus *Satīmati; tūriyam turīyam; anūdake (anudake); sīhe va nadatī (nadati) vane; paribbasāne (parivasāno); sarativhayo (sarativayo); kuṃmigo (kumiga).* There is also a shortening of long syllables by a reverse process.[389] Thus *bhūtāni bhummāni va yāni vā antalikkhe; gimhīsu (gimhesu); dīghamaddhāna (addhāṇaṁ) socati; jīvato (jīvanto); dukham (dukkhaṁ); dakkhisaṁ (dakkhissaṁ).*

Vowel Quantity in Compounds[390]

At the end of the first element in a compound there is a short vowel which was lengthened.[391] Thus *sakhūbhāva* becomes *sakhibhāva; abbhāmattā* becomes *abbhamattā; jātassera* for *jātasara.* This lengthening also occurs with certain propositions.[392] Thus *pavacana* for *pravacana; pākaṭa* becomes *prakṛta, prakaṭa; abhikkantā* becomes *abhikanta; paṭikkula* becomes *pratikula.*

Shortening of Long Vowels in Compounds[393]

Thus we find *Dāsīgana* becomes *dāsīgana; sassudeva* becomes *sassūdeva.*

Some Special Words[394]

Puna and *pana* which were originated from Old Indo-Aryan *punaḥ* or *puner* with different meanings. *puna* means again or once more and *pana* gives in the conjunctive sense of 'but', Skt. *guru* becomes *garu* in Pāli. Pāli has a tendency to keep the older vowel.[395] Thus *guruḥ* and in comparative and in superlative becomes *garīyān* and *gariṣṭha.* The name of the plant gives in Pāli as *aguru,* as in Sanskrit as well as *agalu* and *agaru.* Other Pāli words of doubtful origin indicates a disagreement with Sanskrit in the case of the vowel *a* or *i.*[396] Thus *jhillīkā* becomes *jhillikā.* Skt. *Mucilinda* becomes *Mucalinda; trapu* and *tīpu* were derived from *tripu.* There is also a diversity in other vowels.[397] Thus *pupphusa* becomes

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papphusa; cikitsā becomes *tikicchā; kasya* becomes *kissa* beside *kasa.* "The Pāli form in '*ki*' would appear to be connected with a base of the pronoun '*ki*' instead of '*ka*' which we find in the neutar *kiṁ*".[398] Pāli *Simbala* has come from the *Vedic Śimbala,* we have no idea about the origin of Pāli *Pārepata* and Skt. *pārāpata* or *pārāvata* and it seems that they were independent from each other.[399] Pali *Milakkhu* and Skt. *mleccha* had their basis in Old Indo-Aryan *mlaikṣa* Pāli *dhovati* — Skt. *dhāvati,* due to the influence of the past participle *dhota* — *dhauta,* seems to have changed its vowel.[400]

Consonants — Single Consonants[401]

All Old Indo-Aryan consonants which were in Pāli, were regarded as single sounds.[402] Generally, single intervocal stops and aspirates were not disturbed in Pāli.[403] There are several cases where Pāli indicates unexpected interference with its single intervocal consonants.[404]

Single intervocal *d* and *dh* were changed to *ḷ* and *ḷh* in Pāli like *Vedic,* whereas in Sanskrit they became *ḍ* and *ḍh.*[405] Thus *petā* or *peta* or *petā; √hīd — √hīḷ; uḍha* becomes *uḷha; dṛḍha* becomes *daḷha; Lāṭa* or *Lāḍa* becomes *lāḷa* etc. In one or two cases the *d* itself remains.[406] Thus *kuḍuva* becomes *kuḍava; sahoḍha* becomes *sahoḍha.* It is very probable that *ḍ* and *ḍh* can be mentioned as Sanskrit borrowings in Pāli.[407]

Pāli belonged to the early or the first middle Indo-Aryan stage which continued from 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. In Pāli voicing of unvoiced stops as well as elision of stops occurred.[408] This was possible because of contamination of the text with later dialectical strata.[409] But there was no voicing or elision of stops in the original Buddhist canon of the 5th century B.C. which had the eastern dialect.[410] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee remarks,[411] "Subsequently in the centuries immediately preceding Christ and following him, these later forms somehow intruded themselves into language of the canon". Thus (1) *g* for *k.*[412] *Pratikṛtya* becomes *Patigacca; śākala* becomes *sāgala; mākantika* becomes *māgandiya.* (2) *j* for *c.*[413] *Śruc,* becomes *sujā;* (3) *d* for *t:*[414] *Utāho (uta-aho)* becomes *udāho; niryyātayati* becomes *niyyādeti; prati+yātayati* becomes *paṭiyādeti; pṛṣata* becomes *pasada; ruta* becomes *ruda; vitasti* becomes *vidatthi; saṅgha+atiśeṣa* becomes *saṅghādisesa.* (4) *Dha* for *tha:*[415] *pravyāthati* becomes *pavedhati.*

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(5) *V* from *b* for *p*:[416] *apāṅga* becomes *avaṅga; kapi* becomes *kavi, kapi; pūpa* becomes *pūva; bhindipāla* becomes *bhindivāla; vyāpṛta* becomes *vyāvaṭa.* (6) *i* for *ḍ*=*ṭ*:[417] *kakkhaṭa* becomes *kakkhaḷa; sphaṭika* becomes *phaḍika* becomes *phalika; ātavi* becomes *ālavī; lāṭa* becomes *lāḷa.*

Loss of Interior Stops between Two Vowels

Generally in Pāli, due to the loss of the consonant, the space between the two vowels is left vacant and by *y* or *v*, which is an euphonic, this is filled up.[418] Thus *śuka* becomes *suva* besides *suka; khādita* becomes *khāyila; nija* becomes *niya* or *nija; svādate* becomes *sāyati; aparagodāna* becomes *aparagoyāna; kusīnagara* becomes *kusinara* becomes *kusīnārā; kausika* becomes *kosiya; laukika* becomes *lokiya* or *lokika.*[419]

Reduction of An Aspirate to *h*

This is one of the characteristics of the second middle Indo-Aryan or Prākṛt.[420] Thus *laghu (ka)* becomes *lahu (ka); rudhira* becomes *ruhira; sādhu* becomes *sāhu* and *sādhu; āyodhate* becomes *āyuhati; pragharṣati* becomes *paghassati; paghaṃṣati* becomes *pahoṃsati.* In Pāli the instrumental and ablative plural affix in *bhiḥ* becomes *hi.*[421] Thus *dadhāti, dadhāsi* and plural *dadhati* becomes *dahāti, dahāsi* and *dahāti; prabhavati* becomes *pahoti; prabhūta* becomes *pahūta; prabhu* becomes *pahu; adhastāt* becomes *adhiṣṭhāt* or *adhoṣṭhāt* becomes *heṭṭhā; bhavati* becomes *bhoti* and *hoti* in Pāli. "The form in *h* developed when *bhoti* occurred in the middle of a sentence and was preceded by another word ending in a vowel, so that the *bh* became intervocal and thus the *h* form evolved".[422]

In Pāli there is preservation of the older aspirate as against the younger *h* in several corresponding Sanskrit forms.[423] Thus *iha* becomes *idha; hammati* becomes *ghammati; Bebhāra* beside *baihāra.*[424]

Unvoicing of Consonants

There are several Pāli words where intervocal voiced consonants become unvoiced ones.[425] Thus *aguru* becomes *akalu; chagala* becomes *chakala; sthagayati* becomes *thaketi; vāgurā* becomes *vākurā, vākarā; glāsnu* becomes *kilāsu; parigha* becomes *palikha; prājayati* becomes *pāceti; prājana* becomes *pācana; kusīda*

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becomes *kusīta; mṛdaṅga* becomes *mutiṅga; prādu* becomes *pātu; saṃsadi* becomes *saṃsati; cedī* becomes *cetī; upadheya* becomes *upatheyya; pidhīyate* becomes *pithīyati; sāva(ka)* becomes *chāpa(ka); balvaja* becomes *pabbaja; lāva* or *lāba* becomes *lāpa; alābu* becomes *alāpu* or *lāpu.*[426]

The change of voiced consonants to breathed or unvoiced ones is regarded as the result of the imposition into Pāli of some forms from the *Paiśācī* dialect in which voiced stops and aspirates appear as unvoiced.[427] Thus *rājā* becomes *rācā; nidhi* becomes *nithi; guru* becomes *kuru.*

According to Sten Konow,[428] the Vindhya range was the place where people used to speak *Paiśācī.* Grierson[429] thinks that the extreme north-west of India was the place where *Paiśācī* took its origin. He mentions further that the University of Taxilā was regarded as the *Pāiśācī* area and this university had introduced the Pāli language and this was one of the important subjects for study.[430] This was the reason how Pāli was able to receive a number of these north-western *Paiśācī* forms.[431]

Aspiration

The aspirates are mentioned as characteristic sounds of Indo Aryan, a branch of Indo-European.[432] These sounds keep most of those Indo-European sounds.[433] In middle Indo-Aryan we find several cases of aspiration, which were sometimes derivative and sometimes spontaneous.[434] It is difficult to say anything about spontaneous aspiration. There are many words of this type which inform us that they have *s* or *r* in them.[435] This is not clear to us whether due to these sounds aspiration occurs. Thus *kila* becomes *khila; trikṛtvaḥ* becomes *tikkhattum; kubja* becomes *khujja; tuṣa* becomes *thusa; paraśu* becomes *pharasu* or *parasu; pala* becomes *phala; paruṣa* becomes *pharusa; pārusaka* becomes *phārusaka; pāribhadra* becomes *phālibhaddaka; parśuka* becomes *phāsuka; pulaka* becomes *phulaka; prṣata* becomes *phusita; puṣya* becomes *phussa; bisa* becomes *bhisa; buśa* or *busa* becomes *bhusa.*[436]

Ś and Ṣ become *cha*

There are cases where *ś* and *ṣ* occur as *cha.*[437] Thus *Vedic ṣaṣ* becomes *cha; chagana* becomes *chaka, chakana; sepa* becomes *cheppā; śunaka* becomes *sunaka; sukumāra* becomes *sukhumāla;*

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kakuda becomes *kakudha.*[438]

There are some cases where aspiration is there but still it has not yet been explained.[439] Thus Skt. *kaphoni* becomes *kahoni* becomes Pāli *kakoni; kṣudhā* becomes *khudā; kṣulla* becomes *khulla.*[440]

Change of Place of Articulation of Consonants

This kind of thing is rather rare excepting in the case of dentals changing to cerebrals.[441] Thus *jājvalyate* become *daddalati; cikitsati* becomes *tikicchati.*

Cerebral For Dental

According to several grammarians, this cerebralisation is either resultant or spontaneous.[442] Thus *āmrātaka* becomes *ambāṭaka — ambāḍaka — ambāḍā — ambāḍa—amaḍā; avataṃśa* becomes *vatamsa; paṭaṅga* becomes *paṭaṅga; hṛta* becomes *hata; vyāpṛta* becomes *vyāvaṭa; prati* becomes *paṭi; pratimā* becomes *paṭimā; prathama* becomes *paṭhama; śṛthila* becomes Skt. *śithila* becomes *saṭhila; pṛthivī* becomes *paṭhavī, pathavi; kvathita* becomes *kaṭhita; daṃśa* becomes *daśa; samdaṁśa* becomes *saṇḍāsa; dagdha* becomes *daḍḍha.*[443]

It is known that a cerebral *ḍ* whether original or derivative from *ṭ* or ultimately from *d* changes to *ḷ* in intervocal position.[444] Thus *ṣoḍaśa* (from *ṣaṣ*+daśa, *ṣaẓdaśa*) becomes *soḷasa; pariḍāha* becomes *paridāha* becomes *pariḷāha; kovidāra* becomes *koviḷāra; dohada* becomes *dohaḷa; budbuda* becomes *bubbuḍa* becomes *bubbuḷa; dvadhaka* becomes *dvelhaka; aṭavī* becomes *aḍavī* becomes *āḷavi; lāṭa* becomes *lāḍa* becomes *lāḷa.*[445] It is known that the language of *Ṛgveda* accepts the change of intervocal *ḍa* to *ḷa.*[446] This is one of the characteristics of its language. It is very probable that Pāli has received this characteristic.[447] Classical Sanskrit keeps intervocal *ḍ* and *ḍh* as *ḍ* and *ḍh.* Thus Skt. *dṛḍha* becomes Pāli *daḷha.*[448]

Ṇ* for *N

The later Prākṛts have this characteristic.[449] But it is known that this phonetic change cannot be mentioned as regular for Pāli.[450] The new forms which give *ṇ* for *n* indicate that they are later impositions into Pāli.[451] Thus *Sakuṇa* becomes *sakuṇa; śana* becomes *saṇa; jñāna* becomes *ñāna śvanati* becomes *saṇati;*

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and *svaṇati*.[452]

The cerebral *ḍ* becomes *l*.[453] Thus *ekādaśa* becomes *ekāḍaśa* becomes *ekāḷasa* and *ekābḷasa; īdṛśa, īdṛkṣa* become *edisa* becomes *edikkha, erisa* and *erikkha*. It is known that the intervocal *ṇ* whether original or derivative becomes *ḷ* in some cases in Pāli. Thus *veṇu* becomes *veḷu; mṛṇāla* becomes *muḷāla; eṇas* becomes *eḷa*.[454]

Interchange of *L* and *R*

The dialects of Old Indo-Aryan have three classes from the *Vedic* period onwards:[455] (1) *r*- dialects had only *r* and there was no *l*. From this class the language of the *Ṛgveda* originates. The ancient Iranian speeches, Avestan and Old Persian belonged to *r*-dialects.[456] (2) A dialect had both *l* and *r*. Classical Sanskrit had this characteristic.[457] (3) The dialect which belonged to the third class had no *r*, but it had only *l*.[458] This dialect was used in the extreme east of the Aryandom in Northern India.[459] The speeches of Kośala and Magadha in the pre-christian centuries were *l*-dialects.[460] It is to be noted here that the language of the Buddha was a *l*- dialect, but in Pāli we see both *r* and *l*.[461] Many *l*- forms were introduced in Pāli at the time of rendering the canon from the original dialect of Buddha into Pāli.[462] Such words which give *ḷ* "are counted among Magadhisms in Pāli".[463] Thus *raudra* becomes *ludda; rukṣa* becomes *lūkha; roddhra, loddhra* become *lodda; eraṇḍa* becomes *elaṇḍa; taruṇa* becomes *taluna* — beside *taruṇa; kumbhīra* becomes *kumbhila; pari* becomes *pali*.[464]

The reverse change has *l* for *r*.[465] This is also mentioned in Pāli.[466] Thus *biḷāla* Skt. *biḍāla; kira* becomes *kila; ārañjara* becomes *āliñjara*.[467]

N* For *L

Thus *Naṅgala* for *Lāṅgala; nalāta* becomes *lalāta; dehaṇī* becomes *dehalī*.[468]

***Y* and *V* are also interchanged**[469]

Thus *āyudha* becomes *avudha; mṛgayā* becomes *migavā; kaṇḍuyati* becomes *kaṇḍuvati; dvyarddha* becomes *diyaḍḍha*, also *divaḍḍha; jarāyu* becomes *jalāvu; dāya* becomes *dāya*, beside *dāva; catvra* becomes *cattyara* becomes *caccara*.[470] In

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some special cases apparent interchange of consonants can be mentioned as the result of etymology in old Indo-Aryan.[471] Thus *yaṣṭi* becomes *yaṭṭhi* becomes *laṭṭhi*.[472]

Dissimilation

By this one can avoid the repetition of the same consonant in the word.[473] Thus *pipīlā* and *pipīlikā* become *kipīla* and *kipilika* in Pāli; *kakkola* become *takkola*.[474]

Metathesis

"By this, syllables with different consonants interchange their places".[475] Thus *prāvaraṇa* becomes *pāpuraṇa* and *pārupaṇa* in Pāli; *kuryyāt* becomes *kriyāt* becomes *kariyā* becomes *kayirā* in Pāli; *hrada* becomes *rahada* in Pāli; *hrada* becomes *draha* becomes *daha; maśaka* becomes *makasa*.[476]

Consonant Groups

In Pāli it is known in several cases that there is the same consonant group which is in different kinds of assimilation and this informs us about the dialected mixture.[477] Thus *ñca* is *ñca* in *pañca; nna* in *pannarasa; ṇṇa in paṇṇuvisa; ññā in paññāsa*.[478]

There is no assimilation of the groups *h* + nasal or semi-vowel.[479] But by the consonants only we see the interchange of places.[480] Thus *pūrvāhna* or *pūrbbāhṇa* becomes *pubbaṇha; cihna* becomes *cinha; sahya* becomes *sayha; jihvā* becomes *jivhā*. Mostly beginning at the beginning the group *hr* appears but it becomes *h* in *hreṣā* becomes *hesā; rasa* or *rassa* becomes *hrasva;* here it appears as *r*.[481]

Groups which have a sibilant and a nasal: In Pāli the sibilant appears as *h* and the nasal is transposed — it appears before the *h*.[482] Thus *praśna* becomes *pañha* (here the *ś* changes the *n* to *ñ*); (*śn* becomes *ñh*); *aśman* becomes *amha;* (here *śm* becomes *mh); uṣṇa* becomes *uṇha* (here *ṣṇ* becomes *ṇh); tṛṣṇā* becomes *taṇhā* (here *ṣṇ* becomes *nh); viṣṇu* becomes *veṇhu* (this is *sṇ* to *ṇh*).[483] Then due to *ṣm* which becomes *mh* we see *grīṣma* becomes *gimha; yuṣme* becomes *tumhā, tumhe*.[484] Owing to *sn* which becomes *nh*, we see *snāna* becomes *nhāna* and *nahāna*.[485] Due to *sm* which becomes *mh*, we see *viṣmaya* becomes *vimhaya; smita* becomes *mhita* becomes *mihita* in Pāli.[486]

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Sibilant-nasal exist in some semi-*tatsama* and *tatsamas.*[487] Thus *Kāśmīra* becomes *Kasmīra; rasmi* becomes *raṃsi* becomes *raśmi.* There is further Anaptyxis or intrusion of a vowel which divides the group in semi-*tatsamas.*[488] Thus *tasiṇā, taṇhā* become *tṛṣnā;* by metathesis[489] we see *suṇisā* beside *suṇhā, snusā* through *suṣṇā.* Sibilant-nasal become simple sibilant in several words. Thus *smṛti* becomes *sati; smarate* becomes *sumarati* becomes *sarati; sita* becomes *mihita* becomes *smita.*[490] This last change which is *sm=ss* or *s* is included in the eastern dialect and most probably Pāli has received this form from this dialect.[491] Thus Aśokan Inscription refers to *khalatasi pavatasi* becomes *khalatassi pavatasvi* becomes *khalatasmin parvatasmin.*[492] *Sm* appeared as *Sw* or *SV* and becomes *SS* or *S* initially.[493] Thus Pāli *susāna* from *śvaśāna* from *śavaśayāna.*

Assimilation of Consonants

It is to be noted here that when one of these letters *y, r, l, v* is the second element, then the preceding stop or aspirate is doubled.[494] But when the *y* has connection with dentals, it then changes them to palatals.[495]

With the help of its corresponding non-aspirate, an aspirate is doubled after assimilation.[496] Thus *k+th* becomes *tth* and not *thth; kh+y* becomes *kkh* and not *khkh; s+t* becomes *tth,* but after an *i* or *u* this becomes *ṣṭ* or *ṣṭh* in Sanskrit and in Pāli this appears as *ṭṭh.*[497] Sthāna becomes *uṭṭhāna* in Pāli and in Sanskrit *utthāna.* In Pāli in the middle of words the group *vv* appears as *bb,* but initially there is single *v.*[498] Thus *sarva* becomes *savva* becomes *sabba; vrata* becomes *vata; suvrata* becomes *subbata.* In Pāli there is a two-fold change for *k+s.* Thus *k+ṣ* becomes *kkh* and *cch.*[499]

Between *m* and *r* and *n and l* there exists an intrusive *b.* Thus *āmra* becomes *āmba* becomes *amba.*[500]

Two kinds of assimilation

These are progressive and regressive.[501] (1) Progressive: (i) when the first element progresses on and moves on as it were to the second, i.e., the first takes the place of the second.[502] Thus *ṣaṭka* becomes *chakka; mudga* becomes *mugga; lipta* becomes *litta; udghāta* becomes *ugghāta.* (ii) In the combination of *r* with *l, y, v: niryāsa* becomes *niyyāsa; durlabha* becomes *dullabha; ārya*

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becomes *ayya; udīryate* becomes *udiyyati.* (iii) In the combination of sibilant with *mute:* Thus *āścarya* becomes *acchera; niska* becomes *nikkha, nekkha.* (iv) In the combination of liquid with mute, sibilant or nasal: Thus *karka* becomes *kakka.* (v) In the combination of nasal with nasal: Thus *nimna* becomes *ninna.*[503] (2) Regressive: (i) In it the first consonant influences the second consonant.[504] Thus *udvigna* becomes *ubbigga; svapna* becomes *soppa; abhimathnāti* becomes *abhimatthati; chadman* becomes *chaddan.* Generally it is regarded as a following nasal and its assimilation takes place in previous stop or aspirate.[505] Under regressive assimilation we see that there is a stop or aspirate which is followed by *r* or *l* or by *y* or *v.*[506] In a progressive assimilation we see the case of *jñā.* Thus *prajñā* becomes *paññā; rājñā* becomes *raññā; vijñapti* becomes *viññatti.*[507] (ii) Thus in Regressive assimilation when in the combination of mutes with liquids, we see *takra* becomes takka; *udra* becomes *udda; śvabhra* becomes *sabbha; śukla, śukra* become *sukka.* (iii) In the combination of mutes with semi-vowels: *Śakya* becomes *Sakka; ucyate* becomes *vuccati; kurdya* becomes *kuḍḍa.; śādvala* becomes *saddala; labhya* becomes *labbha; udvigna* becomes *ubbigga.*[508]

Many *tatsamas* and semi-*tatsamas* are found in Pāli.[509] It indicates want of assimilation.[510] Thus *nigrodha* (semi-*tatsama*), *tatra, citra, bhadra* (*tatsamas*);[511] *atṛccham* is semi-*tatsama* and *ārogya, dvidhā, vākya, Brāhmaṇa* are *tatsamas.*[512]

Sibilant With Liquids or Semi-Vowels

This is regressive assimilation.[513] Thus *miśra* becomes *missa; vayasya* becomes *vayassa; śveta* becomes *seta; esyati* becomes *essati* becomes *ehiti. Karisyāmi* becomes *karṣāmi* becomes *kassāmi* and then it becomes *kāhāmi.*[514] Thus from the liquids and nasals we see *ramya* becomes *ramma; kalya* becomes *kalla; bilva* becomes *billa.*[515] *Y* and *V* appear as a second element and it seems to be kept in some *tatsamas* and as the result of *Sandhi* in Pāli we find *Vākya* for *vakka; ārogya* for *ārogga; kvaṃ* and *kvaci* for Skt. *kva* and *kvacit* (semi-*tatsamas*); *anu+eti* becomes *anveti* in Pāli; *su+agata* becomes *svāgata; su+ākhyata* becomes *svākkhata; vi+eti* becomes *vyeti; vyāpṛta* becomes *vyāvata,*[516] "which is doubly anomalous for Pāli — in the existence of the group of *vya,* and in the change of *pr* to *p* to *v; cf.* Pāli *udayaviyaya*

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(*semi-tatsama*) beside *udayavyaya*".[517]

Dentals which are followed by '*y*' are palatalised, and also the cerebral *ṇ* with *y*.[518] Thus *satya* becomes *sacca; tyajati* becomes *cajati; rathyā* becomes *racchā* becomes semi-*tatsama rathiyā; chidyate* becomes *chijjati; dvaidhya* becomes *dvejjha* (semi-*tatsama*); *anya* becomes *aññ*a; *jātyā* becomes *jaccā* becomes *jātiyā* (semi-*tatsama*); *nadyā* becomes *najjā* becomes *nadiya* (semi-*tatsama*); *karmmaṇya* becomes *kammañña* becomes *kammaniya; punya* becomes *puñña*.[519] In *Udyāna* becomes *uyyāna; udyukta* becomes *uyyutta*. We find progressive assimilation of *d* to *y*.[520] But this is not proper for Pāli.[521]

The Treatment of the Group *KSA*

In middle Indo-Aryan *kṣ* appears as *kkh* and *cch*, and they become *kh* and *ch* initially.[522] In Old Indo-Aryan *ks* has two-fold origin in one case Skt. *kṣ* accepts the theory of Avestan *xš (mhsh)* which originates from Indo-Iranian *k+š*, and in other case Skt. *ks* fully agrees with *š* and this *s* has taken its origin from Indo-Iranian *ś+š*.[523] Thus we see *dakṣiṇa* — Avestan, *dašina* — Indo-Iranian *dasšina*, — Pāli *Dakkhiṇa*, but *maksi* or *makṣika* — Avestan *maxši* — Indo-Iranian *makši* — *makkhika*.[524] According to some scholars,[525] in Middle Indo-Aryan the palatal change of *kṣ* to *cch* appeared at first in some cases where *kṣ* took its origin from Indo-Iranian *ss* and where *kṣ* changed to *kkh*, the Indo-European *kš* was regarded as the source of this *kṣ*.

Indo-European *kš*
Avestan *xō kṣ* (old Indo-Aryan) Avestan *kkh* (middle Indo-Aryan).

Indo-Iranian *śš*
s kṣ (old Indo-Aryan) *cch* (middle Indo-Aryan).[526]

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee[527] thinks that *ks* of old Indo-Aryan appeared as *kkh* in the midland and in the east and this change was able to characterise the dialects of the north-west, west and south and due to this change it became *cch*. Thus

Kṣetra
I

North-west, west and South

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Chetta khetta Midland, East *Marāthī chet khet* Beng. and Hin.[528]

Owing to a great deal of interchange of words and forms among the spoken dialects, we see that the Midland accepted western *cch* forms, and eastern *kkh* forms played a role in the world of the dialects of the west.[529] It is known that Pāli has received both *kkh* and *cch* words for *kṣ* of Old *Indo-Aryan*.[530] Thus *dakṣina* becomes *dakkhiṇa; makṣika* becomes *makkhikā; kṣudhā* becomes *khudā; kakṣa* becomes *kaccha; takṣati* becomes *tacchati; kṣārikā* becomes *chārikā; akṣi* becomes *akkhi*, and *acchi; ikṣu* becomes *ucchu; ṛkṣa* becomes *accha* becomes *ikka; kṣaṇa* becomes *chaṇa khana; kṣamā* becomes *khamā* becomes *chamā; ikṣvāku* becomes *okkaka*. This is irregular form.[531]

In Pāli, Skt. *kṣ* becomes *jjh* and also *ggh*.[532] Thus *kṣrati* becomes *jharati; prakṣarati* becomes *paggharati; kṣāma* becomes *jhāma; kṣāyati* becomes *jhāyati; kṣāpayati* becomes *jhāpeti*.[533] From a different group of sounds in Indo-European this *kṣ* of Old Indo-Aryan — Pāli *ggh. jjh* took its origin.[534]

The Old Indo-Aryan groups *ts* and *ps* appeared as *cch*.[535] Thus *kutsita* becomes *kucchita; vatsatava* becomes *vacchatara; apsarā* becomes *accharā; jugupsā* becomes *jigucchā; psāta* becomes *chāta*.[536] When the prefix *ut* or *ud* moves, then some root begins with a sibilant, a progressive assimilation of the dental stop (*t* or *d*) with the following sibilant takes place.[537] Thus *ut+sādana* becomes *ussādana*, becomes *ussada; utsava* becomes *ussava; utsāha* becomes *ussāha; utsiñcati* becomes *ussiñcati; ut+sirṣaka, ucchīrṣaka — ussīssaka*.[538] But there are some words which mention *cch*.[539] Thus *utsaṅga* becomes *ucchaṅga; ucchiṣṭa* becomes *ut+sista=ucchiṭṭha; utsādana* becomes *ucchādana* becomes *ussada*.[540]

Combination of More than two Consonants

At first there were two consonants. The Middle Indo-Aryan forms of Pāli took their origin on this basis.[541] Thus *Randhra* becomes *Randdha; kāṅkṣā* becomes *kaṅkkhā*. When a heavy consonant stands between light consonants, at first the first light consonant is assimilated to the heavy one. Thus *Martya* becomes *Macca; Pārṣṇi* becomes *Paṇhi; Akarṣma* becomes *akamha*. In the same manner assimilation and simplification of the first two consonants take place at first in these cases where a light consonant appears

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at the end of the group and two heavy consonant or one heavy and one light consonants stand at the beginning of the group. Thus *uṣṭra* becomes *oṭṭha*; *tīkṣṇa* becomes *tikkha*; *daṃṣṭrā* becomes *daṭṭhā*; *dāṭṭhā* is a graphic variant in order to write in Brāhmī script; *ucchrāpayati* becomes *ussāpeti*. The *v* is retained in Gerunds. Thus *pra+āptvā* = *prāptvā* becomes *patvā*; *muktvā* becomes *mutvā*; *uktvā* becomes *vatvā*.[542]

On the basis of two consonants the semi-*tatsama* forms are formed.[543] Thus *tikṣṇa* becomes *tikhna* becomes Pāli *tikhina*; Sukṣma becomes *sukhma* becomes Pāli *sukhuma*; *vartma* becomes *vaṭhma* becomes Pāli *Vatthuma*; *ratyā* — Skt. *rātryām* and *agyantarāya* becomes *agṇyātarāya*; *aggāgāra* becomes *agṇyāgāra* becomes Skt. *agnigāra*.[544]

Arrested Development of the two-Consonant Basis

The consonant groups '*kṣṇ*', '*kṣm*' and '*tṣn*' act like '*ṣn*', '*ṣm*' and '*sn*' although other changes are clearly known.[545] Thus *slakṣṇa* becomes *saṇha*; *tikṣṇa* becomes *tiṇha*; *abhikṣṇam* becomes *abhiṇhaṁ*; *pakṣman* becomes *pamha*; *jyotsnā* becomes *junhā*; *kṛcchra* becomes *kiccha* becomes *kasira* which comes from a form *kacchra* or *kasra*; *ūrdhva* becomes Pāli *ubbham*, beside *uddham*,[546] in it '*v*' helps to change the group to a labial.[547] Skt. *Dṛṣṭvā* becomes Pāli *disvā*. It became first *Dṛṣvā* with the help of the assimilation of *st*, otherwise it would have been *diṭṭhā*.[548]

Some Peculiar or Rare or Uncommon Cases

(1) Skt. *mahyam* becomes Pāli *mayham*.[549] The Pāli *tuyhaṃ* was originated on this basis.[550] It is to be noted here that the proper equivalent for Old Indo-Aryan *tuvyaṁ* is *tubbhaṁ* or *tubhyam*.[551] We see here the representation of a sonant, aspirate by '*h*' in the group '*bhy*' and through metathesis it becomes '*yh*'.

(2) The second person plural *atmanepada* with '*dhe*' at the end becomes '*bhe*' in Pāli.[552] The group *dhv* occurred *vh* in the ending of 2 Pl. Pres. med. — *vhe* becomes *dhve*. Moreover in some words after a nasal *h* alternates with an aspirated media.[553]

(3) Voicing of unvoiced consonants or sometimes after a nasal, softening of tongue happens.[554] Thus Pāli *Nighaṇḍu* becomes Skt. *Nighaṇṭu*; *grantha* becomes gandha becomes *ganṭha*; *hanta* becomes *haṇḍa*; Skt. *śkṣyasi* becomes Pāli *sagghasi* instead of

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sakkhasi; Skt. *Proñchati* becomes Pāli *Puñjati* and *Puñcati*.[555]

(4) Unvoicing of voiced sounds in groups:[556] Thus *vṛṅgāra* becomes *bhiṅkāra*; *vilagna* becomes *vilāka* through *vilakka*, *vilagga*.

(5) Aspiration or unetymological aspiration:[557] Thus *Sṛgataka* becomes *siṅghātaka*; *Skandhapura* becomes *khandhapura*; *pippala* becomes *piphala*; *pippalī* becomes *pipphalī*; *archi* becomes *acchi*; *tatra* becomes tatha; *sotriya* becomes *sotthiya*; *śṛṅgātaka* becomes *siṅghāṭaka*.

(6) Loss of aspiration or de-aspiration in groups:[558] *Babhru* becomes *babbu*; *Budhna* becomes *Bunda* in Pāli from *Budna*; *mleccha* from *mlaikṣa* becomes Pāli *milāca* in place of *milacca* or *milaccha*. In several words "the presence of a sibilant does not aspirate the following consonant which is expected to be the case in Pāli for Skt. *bāṣpa — bappa*".[559] *Catuṣka* becomes *catukka*; *mṛṣṭa* becomes *maṭṭa* as well *maṭṭha*; *Indraprastha* becomes *Indapatta*; *kṣudra* becomes *khudda*; *kṣulla* becomes *culla*, *cūla*.[560]

(7) Interchange of point of articulation in consonant groups: or change of Consonant-classes in sound-groups:[561] comp. *bhisakka* beside *bhesajja*; here Guttural comes for palatal. Then *ājñā* becomes *āṇā*. Here cerebral comes for palatal. Then *uttiṭṭha* becomes *ucchiṭṭha*. Here dental occurs for palatal.

(8) The treatment of dentals into cerebrals with *r*:[562] Thus *ārta* becomes *aṭṭa*; *vṛddha* becomes *vuddha*; *vṛtta* becomes *vaṭṭa*, *vatta*; *ārdra* becomes *aḍḍa* and *alla*; *artha* becomes *aṭṭa*; (i) Here under the influence of *r*: Thus *rt*, *rd*, *rdh* become *ṭṭ*, *ḍḍ*, *ddh*. (ii) Then under the influence of a sibilant: *ṭhāti*, *thahati*, *ṭhāna*, *saṃṭhāna* from root *sthā*, *sthāna*, *saṃsthāna*. (iii) Irregular cerebralisation: *jannu* (*ka*) — *jaṇṇuka*; *kaviṭṭha* — Pāli *kapittha*.

Metathesis or interchange of sounds[563]

Raṃsi becomes *raśmi*; *gulma* becomes *gumbla* becomes *gumba*; *Budhna* becomes *bundha* becomes *bunda*; *gardhabha* becomes Pāli *gadrabha*. It was not through metathesis but it was very probably through a false Sanskritisation of Middle Indo-Aryan *Gaddabha*.[564]

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Haplology[565]

By haplology it is possible to avoid the repetition of the same or same type of sound and the loss of syllable caused by haplology. Thus we see *aḍḍhatiya, aḍḍhateyya* for *aḍḍhatatiya; viññāṇcāyatana* for *viññāṇānañcāyatana; pavissāmi* for *pavississāmi; vipassi* for *vipassassi; sakkhi* for *sakkhisi; sossi* for *sosossasi; gacchisi* for *gacchissasi; jeyyaṃ* and *neyyam* for *jayeyyaṃ* and *naneyyaṃ*.[566]

Sandhi[567]

The second vowel in a sequence of two vowels is kept to the exclusion of the first in vowel *sandhi* in Pāli. Thus *Maha-Inda* becomes *Mahinda; Loka-uttara* become *lokuttara.* When the particles *iva, eva, api, iti* and occasionally *idani* etc. appear as a second element in a *sandhi* group then we see the loss of the *i* or *e.* An initial vowel has been lost in *iva* and *eva* become *va; api* becomes *pi* and *iti* becomes *ti.* In several other words this has happened and sometimes independently there is the use of these reduced *sandhi* forms. Thus *posatha* becomes *uposatha, upavasatha; gini* in place of *agini, agni; vaṭaṃsaka* in place of *avataṃsaka; daka* becomes *udaka.* These are *sandhi*-forms originated in position after a vocalic final. In the formative period of Pāli it is seen the development of '*y*' and '*v*' in the midst of *Sandhi* combinations and owing to this it is found in Pāli a prothetic *y* before *i* (e) and *v* before *u* (*o*) in several forms. This should be mentioned as frozen *sandhi*-forms. Thus *iṣṭa* becomes *yiṭṭha; ukta* and *upta* become *vutta; uṣita* becomes *vusita; uḍha* becomes *vuḷha.* In some cases the form varies. Thus *vuṭṭhita* becomes *suṭṭhita; vuṭṭhānas* becomes *uṭṭhāna; vonata* for *onata* becomes *avanata.* Similarly, we find *yeva* becomes *eva* and *viya* becomes *iva.* In Pāli there is no end of consonant sound in a word and there is the appearance of *anusvāra* from the old final '*m*'. Thus *tūṣṇīm* becomes *tuṇhī.* Here we see the dropping of final '*m*'. In Old Indo-Aryan an original final consonant existed independently in *Sandhi* and in Pāli in several cases this final consonant has not disappeared entirely. Because, as an irregular occurrence it appears very frequently.

In compound words very often there are occurrences of the Sanskrit or the Old Indo-Aryan types of *Sandhi* in Pāli. These no

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doubt show the influence of Sanskrit but it is to be noted here that native middle Indo-Aryan habits of Pāli also played a role in their own way. Thus we see *mahodadhi*: for *Maho-udadhi*; *kākolūkā*: for *kaka-ulaka*; *accuggamma* — *gam* with *ati-ud* (Skt. *atyud*) *atyudgamya*; The following forms are formed on the basis of modifications of Sanskrit compounds and they are not mentioned as cases of independent *samasa* with Pāli elements. Thus *jaraggava* for Sanskrit *jarat* and *gava* — *jaradgava*; *tabbiparita* for *tadviparita*. These are examples of consonant-*sandhi*. Original final consonant of the first component in composition often reappears. Thus *punarbhava* becomes *punabbhava*; *sakadāgāmin* — *sakṛd* (Pāli *sakim*) + *āgāmin*. The original double-consonant at the begnining of the second component reappears in composition. Thus *subbatasu+vata-vrata*.

There are several cases where we see that the Sanskrit system struggles with Pāli and this can be mentioned as mixed *Sandhi*.[568] In Pāli we find that the second vowel appears in *Sarasandhi*.[569] Thus *na-atthi* becomes *natthi*; *chātā-amha* becomes *chāt'-amha*; *ca-assu-talapa* becomes *cassutalāpa*.[570] There is also influence of Sanskrit. Thus we find *gavāssāca: gavā*-assā-ca; na-acceti for *nācceti*; *tassa-akkhi-bhedaṃ* for *tassākkhibhedaṃ*.[571]

Other Cases of Sanskrit *Sandhi*

Confrontation of dissimilar vowels: when *a* is followed by '*i*' or '*u*': Thus *ca-ime* — *ceme*; *cattari-imani* — *cattarimani*; *na-upeti* — *nopeti*; *mama-idam*—*mamedaṃ*. But *satta-imānica* — *sattimanica* — *suttānica*.[572] Here is elided.

In *Sandhi* when there is loss of the first *i* of the particle *iti*, then there is lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus *vahissama-iti* for *vahissamiti*; *gacchama-iti* for *gacchamati*.[573]

Sometimes in Sandhi we find weakening of vowel to *y* or *v* before another vowel.[574] Thus *yo-assa* for *yavāssa*.

Like in Sanskrit before a vowel, a final *anusvāra* is restored to *m*.[575] Thus *bandhitum-icchati* becomes *bandhitumicchati*.

In Old Indo-Aryan we find existence of consonants finally but in Pāli *Sandhi* they survive very often. The hiatus due to confrontation of vowels in a sentence is often filled by keeping a consonant which was a part of it at the end of the first word. Thus

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by keeping 'r': *punat-ohisi*; *pātur- ahosi* becomes *Patu-bhavati*.[576]

It is said that in the above cases according to Old Indo-Aryan this 'r' is quite proper.[577] But some scholars think that in Pāli there is an occurrence of an intrusive 'r'.[578] Thus *vijjur-iva*; *dhi-r-atthu* becomes *dhigatthu*; *usavo-r-iva*; *raṃsir-iva*; *galantam-r-iva*; *janamajjhe-r-iva*; *jiva-r-iva*; *thambho-r-iva*; *hamsa-r-iva*.[579]

D is proper in several examples

To avoid hiatus restitution of 'd' has taken place: Thus *etadvoca=etad-avoca*; *sakid-eva*; *yad-idam=yadidam*; *yadicchitam-yam-idam — yam-icchitam — yad-icchitam*.[580] D is improper in the following example: *Puna-d-eva*; *bahu-d-eva rathim*; *samma-d-eva*.[581]

G is correct

Here restitution of 'g' has taken place: *Pag-eva* (*Prāg-eva*); *puthag-eva* (*pṛthag-eva*).[582]

When two vowels exist in a separate way, then in between, *y* and *v* appear.[583] Thus *cha-ime — cha-y-ime*; *na-y-ito*; *na-idam — na-y-idam*. Here a prothetic *y* precedes the pronominal *stem ima*. Thus *ādicco-v-udayaṃ*; *kati-v-uttari*; *pañca-v-uttari*; *ubhaya-v-okiṇṇo*.

Declension of the Noun

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gives an account of declension of the noun. He says,[584] "Stems (ending) in Old Indo-Aryan there was a varied system of declension with different sets of inflexions, accordingly it is seen that as the noun stem ended in a vowel or a consonant and also according to the nature of the vowel or a consonant — whether it was an 'a' (masculine and neuter) or 'ā' (feminine) or 'i' (masculine, feminine and neuter) etc. or it was 'as', 'ar', 'ant' etc.".[585] W. Geiger mentions it. He describes,[586] "In Pāli the nominal stems have undergone multifarious changes. Due to the phonetic law entailing the elision of final consonants, the consonant stems become vowel ones and are inflected like the latter".

In Pāli the rules relating to stems are very simple. We find the reduction of all the consonant stems to vowel ones.[587] Thus from

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Sumedhas we get *Sumedha*; from *āpad* we get *āpā*; from *sarpis* we get *sappi*; from *arcis* we get *acci*; from *tādṛs* we get *tādi*; from *marut* we get *maru*; from *vidyut* we get *vijjū*.[588] Sometimes in order to retain these final consonants in the stem a vowel is added.[589] Thus *āpadā* becomes *āpā*; *vijjuta* becomes *vijju*; *barihisa* becomes *barhis*; *sarita* becomes *sarit*; *sarada* becomes *sarad*; *Sumedhasa* becomes *Sumedha*.

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee mentions the '*a*' declension. He says,[590] "The '*a*' declension encroached very largely into the domain *O* and other vowel declensions and although there were numerous survivals of forms peculiar to the various declensions—vocal and consonantal of Old Indo-Aryan, the tendency was to bring the declensions into general conformity with the '*a*' declension".

Gender

Pāli retains the three genders — masculine, feminine and neuter.[591] In Old Indo-Aryan the formation of gender takes place on grammatical terminations but not on natural distinction of sex or absence of sex.[592] These certain terminations mentioned above is looked upon "as feminine, certain others as masculine or neuter".[593] Pāli follows the same system of grammatical gender but very frequently a noun is transferred from one gender to another.[594] There is also confusion in the cases of the numerals and the pronouns.[595] Sometimes due to the rhythm of the line there is misuse of gender in Pāli.[596] W. Geiger gives an account of gender. He states, "Gender is distinguished on the whole according to the rules of Sanskrit. Syntactical irregularities however often show that the sense for grammatical gender had already become hazy".[597] Thus we see *attā jitaṃ* instead of *jito*; *sakhiyo tiṇi janiyo* instead of *tisso*; *yathā me nirato (am) mano* instead of *niratam*; *tapo sukho* instead of *sukhaṃ*; *sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṃ va khitto* instead of *sukhumaṃ, khittam*; *yekeci rūpā subbe vat'eto; sabbe te rūpā*; *ime diṭṭhiṭṭhānā cattāro upādanā* becomes the regular *cattāri upādānāni; vandati pādāni* (*pāde*); *petāni puttāni* (*pote putte*); *sabhā sabhāni* becomes *sabhāyo kucchismā, kucchismim* becomes *kucchiyā, kucchimhā, kucchiyam*; *dhātu, dhātuyo, dhātuyā*, (fem.), *dhātusoa* (mas.); *massuyā* (fem.), *massu*.[598]

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Number

There is no Old Indo-Aryan dual in Pāli.[599] Only survival of the dual is found in *dve* and *duve*, and *ubho — ubhau*. Thus *ime candimasuriyo*.[600] The plural takes the place of the dual.

Case Forms

In Old Indo-Aryan there are eight cases of the vocative.[601] In Pāli we find the loss of the dative and the genitive acts in its place and does its function.[602] Thus we see *Namo Buddhassa* (for *Buddhaya*).[603] But particularly in the *Gāthās* there is the survival of the dative.[604] Thus we see *saggāya gacchati; jahassu rūpaṃ apunabhavāya; naca mayaṃ labhāma bhagavantaṃ dassanāya; icchā lābhāya; ko paccayo mahoto bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya*.[605] There is the survival of the ablative in the singular case only.[606] Thus *gharato; mukhato; dūrato*. But in the plural it is always identical with instrumental plural.[607] Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee states,[608] "The ablative affix which may be looked upon as the standard one in Pāli as the prenominal ablative affix "*smaṁ*", e.g., *dhammasma dhammamha*. The Old Indo-Aryan *ta* as in *dharma* which features in Pāli as *a*, while common enough is the ablative affix '*to*' in Pali which is from the Old Indo-Aryan '*tap*' or '*tas*' e.g. *bhiksuta- bhikkhuto*".

Nouns Ending In '*A*'

Nominative: The Old Indo-Aryan '*ah*' becomes '*o*' and '*ah*' becomes '*a*' in Pāli.[609] Thus we see *devah* and *devah* become *devo* and *deva*.[610] In old texts we find nominative singular in '*e*',[611] and in masculine instead of *o* and in neuter instead of *am*; masculine: *attakāre, parakāre, purisa kāre* (instead of *kāre*): *Thus bāle ca paṇḍite* ca; *bahuke jane pāsapāṇike*. In neuter we also get '*e*'.[612] Thus *sukkhe dukkhe jivasattame* (instead of *sukhaṃ* etc.). In older verses we find a nominative plural affix '*ase*'.[613] Thus *panditase devase*. In Pāli these two '*e*' forms are not mentioned as proper.[614] Because Pāli is regarded as a Midland tongue but these '*e*' forms are found in the dialects of the East.[615] Thus, for example, we find in the eastern Prākṛt of Aśoka and in the later Jaina *Ardhamāgadhī* and *Māgadhī* Prākṛt.[616] In the Eastern Dialects the Old Indo-Aryan "*ah*" and"*aṁ*" generally occur as '*e*', and the Old Indo-Aryan nominative plural affix "*Asah*" which was found in the *Vedic* change to "*ase*" in the East.[617] Sometimes these "*e*" and

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"*ase*" forms are known as Māgadhisms or characteristic *māgadhī* forms.[618] It is said that they survive in Pāli from the pre-canonical texts which are in the Eastern dialects and Pāli is based on it.[619]

The Accusitive Singular Represent Old Indo-Aryan

So also is the case of the instrumental, genetive, ablative and locative singular.[620] "In the ablative and locative the pronominal affix "*smaṁ*" and "*smiṁ*" were extended to the noun also in Old Indo-Aryan, to give the Pāli forms in *Mha* and *sma* as well as *mim* and *smim*. (Old Indo-Aryan accusitive singular *am* — *P. am*. Old Indo-Aryan *ena* and *a* — this is not found in classical Sanskrit — Pāli *ena* and *a*; Old Indo-Aryan "*sya* "— *P. ssa*; Old Indo-Aryan ablative singular at — *P. a* and locative singular *o* — *P.e*)".[621]

The accusitive Plural of '*a*' nouns become the affix '*e*' in Pāli.[622] Thus we find *dhamma* becomes *dhamme*.[623] There is a problem for '*e*'.[624] Several scholars explain it in this way. They say that it is extended from the pronoun to the noun;[625] in the pronoun Old Indo-Aryan has *sa*, *tau*, *te* and *tam*, *tau*, and *tan* and the nominative plural *te* will be extended to the accusitive plural also, so that "*te*" appears for both nominative and accusitive plural.[626] Then in"*te dhammaṁ*" the form *dhammaṁ* changes to *dhamme* and thus the establishment of the accusitive '*a*' has occurred.[627] The affix "*aṁ*" appears as "*aṁ*" in Eastern dialect.[628] In the Eastern dialect of Aśoka this *aṁ* in the accusitive plural has taken its place.[629] It is very probable that the neuter has influenced it and in Pāli *Gāthās* this '*aṁ*' is found.[630] Thus dialects—*Bhaddassami va sarathe* (for *Bhaddesse*).[631] The instrumental plural in "*ehi*" becomes Old Indo-Aryan *obhi*.[632]

In many cases neuter nouns in '*As*' have kept their original forms.[633] Thus we find *manasa*, *manasi*. Sometimes the instrumental in '*asa*' for a noun like "*mana*" is applied wrongly to other nouns which are extended to '*a*'.[634] Thus *balasa* becomes *balena*; *padasa* becomes *padena*; *mukhasa* and *mukhena*; *vegasa* becomes *begana*.[635]

Declension and conjugation

Pāli is not very rich in declension and conjugation. It tries to drop end-consonants or sometimes it adds an '*a*' to them.[636] It is for this reason we find that there is no place of consonantal

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declension in Pāli.[637] There is a division of Pāli declension into two classes — the vowel class and the consonantal class.[638] Only there are two numbers and seven often only six, the genitive and dative as a rule, and the instrumental and ablative often are merged together.[639] As a result we find that in the Prākṛts there is the total loss of the dative and the genitive does its functions.[640] Thus we find *dāmi-lāya lena* in cave inscriptions.[641] (a) Of vowel stems we can mention here the names of *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, o.*[642] The ablative and locative of '*a*' stems give us three forms each, one agrees with Sanskrit and the other two forms are based on the analogy of the forms of the pronouns.[643] The nominative plural *dhammāse*, instrumental and ablative plural *dhammebhi, dhammehi* give us information one of the *Vedic* forms *devāsaḥ* and *devebhiḥ.*[644] In the '*ā*' stem classical Sanskrit has influenced Pāli. Because it has the same form for ablative and genitive.[645] "Pāli has drawn in the dative and in the locative, as that case was on its way to decline".[646] All these influence the locative which, side by side with the regular form *kaññāyam* gives also *kaññāya.*[647] We don't see this latter form very often. The dative gives an account of the *ā* ending in several forms. Thus *esanā — esanāya.*[648]

a-declension:

A. Masculine stems in—*a*; stem: *dhamma*, 'law ':[649]

Singular		Plural
Nom.:	*Dhammo*	*dhammā*
Acc:	*dhammaṃ*	*dhamme*
Ins:	*dhammena, dhammā*	*dhammehi*
G.D:	*dhammassa*	*dhammānaṃ*
Abl:	*dhammā, dhammasmā,-amhā,*	*dhammehi*
L:	*dhamme, dhammasmiṃ,-amhi,*	*dhammesu*
V.	*dhamma*	*dhammā.*

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B. Neuter stems in *a*: stem: *rūpa* 'figure'.

Singular		Plural
Nom:	*rūpaṃ*	*rūpāni, rūpā*
Acc:	*rūpaṃ*	*rūpāni, rūpe,*
v.	*rūpa*	*rūpāni, rūpā.*

In other cases as in masculine.

ā-declension:
(a) Feminine in -*ā*: stem *kaññā*, '*girl*': [650]

Singular		Plural
Nom:	*kaññā*	—
Acc:	*kaññaṃ*	*kaññā, kaññāyo*
Ins:	*kaññāya*	*kaññā, kaññāyo kaññāhi*
Abl:	*kaññāya*	*kaññāhi*
G.D:	*kaññāya,*	*kaññānam, Kaññāsu*
loc:	*kaññāya,-ayaṃ*	
Voc:	kaññe	kaññā,-āyo.

(b) In the declension of '*i*' and '*u*', it is known that there is an influence of a declension upon the masculine and neuter forms of the dative and genitive.[651] Thus we find *aggisa* and *aggino*.[652] This is possible owing to the influence of analogy.[653] It is known that the formation of the locative takes place on the analogy of pronouns.[654] Thus we get *aggismiṁ aggimhi*.[655] *Agginā* for instrumental and ablative of masculine and *rattiyā* for instrumental and ablative of feminine bases in '*i*' inform us about merging of the ablative into the instrumental.[656] Because these two cases have their similar functions.[657] The same rules will follow in the 'u' declension.[658]

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'i' and 'u' - declension:[659]

Masculine stems in 'i' and 'u': stems *aggi* 'fire', *bhikkhu* 'monk':

Singular		Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom:	*aggi*	*aggayo*	*bhikkhu*	*bhikkhavo*
Acc:	*aggiṃ*	*aggi*	*bhikkhuṃ*	*bhikkhū*
Instr:	*aggihī*	*aggihi*	*bhikkhunā*	*bhikkhūhi*
Abl:	*aggismā, aggimhā, agginā*	*aggīhi*	*bhikkhusmā bhikkhumhā, bhikkhunā*	*bhikkhūhi*
Gen, Dat,:	*aggissa, aggino*	*aggīnaṃ*	*bhikkhussa*	*bhikkhūñaṃ*
Loc.	*aggismiṃ aggimhi*	*aggisu*	*bhikkhuno bhikkhusmiṃ*	*bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhūsu*
Voc.	*aggi*	*aggayo, aggi.*	*bhikkhumhi bhikkhu*	*bhikkhavo, bhikkhave, bhikkhū.*

(c) There are several forms like *rājānam, raññā, rañño* and *rājino, rañño* and *rājini* which, for the accusitive, instrumental, genitive, and locative respectively, show us that consonantal declension exist in Pāli.[660] But there are other forms. They are *yuvānassa*, and *yuvassa*, for genitive, *yuvāne, yuvānasmiṁ, yuvānamhi* and *yuve* for locative which mention the decline of consonantal declension.[661] They state "how this great class was on its decline, giving two bases — one by dropping the final consonant and another by adding an '*a*' to *it* ".[662]

(d) It is found that with due phonetic changes, Pronouns fully agree with their Sanskrit counterparts in declension.[663] Thus we find several forms which are *aham, mam* and *mamam, mayā, mama, mamam* and *mayham-amham, mayi*.[664] They are forms of the nominative, accusitive, instrumental, ablative, dative, genitive and locative of the pronoun of the first person.[665] Here is given an account of the forms of the pronoun of the second person.[666] They are *tvam-tuvam, tvam-tuvam*, and *tam-tavam, tvayā-tāyā, tava-tavam* and *tuyham-tumham* and *tvayi-tayi*.[667] For the third person we see the use of forms of the demonstrative.[668] Thus we

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find *so, tam, tena, tasmā, tahmā, tassa, tasmiṁ-tamhi.*[669]

Pronoun[670]

A: Personal pronoun of the first person (a stem - form in sg. *mam-*)

	Singular	Plural
Nom:	*ahaṃ* I	*mayaṃ (amhe)* We
Acc.	*maṃ (mamam)*	*amhe (asme, amhākaṃ, asmākaṃ)*
Inst-Abl:	*mayā*	*amhehi*
Dat.-Gen.	*mama, mayhaṃ (mamaṃ, amhaṃ)*	*amhākaṃ (asmākaṃ, amhaṃ)*
Loc:	*mayi*	*amhesu.*

B: Personal pronoun of the second person

	Singular	Plural
Nom:	*tvaṃ (tuvaṃ)* 'thou'	*tumhe* 'you'
Acc:	*taṃ (tvaṃ, tuvaṃ)*	*tumhe (tumhākaṃ)*
Instr-Abl:	*tayā (tvayā)*	*tumhehi*
Dat.—Gen.	*tava, tuyhaṃ (tavaṃ, tumhaṃ)*	*tumhākaṃ (tumhaṃ)*
Loc.	*tayi (tvayi)*	*tumheṣu.*

(e) It is known that like in Sanskrit, Pāli adjectives also have declension and comparison.[671] There are some irregularities in comparison like in Sanskrit.[672] Thus :

appa —	*alpa*	*kanīyo*
	antika	*nediyo*
	prasaṭha	*seyyo* — *śreyah*
	—prasasya	*kaniṭṭha*
		neditṭha, settha-srestha[673]

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(f) Pāli numerals fully agree with Sanskrit numerals.[674] Thus *eka, ti, cha, dvādasa, bārasa, visam, vīsati, timsati, paññāsam, paññāsa* etc.[675] Pāli declension also follows Sanskrit.[676] Thus *tayo, tibhi, tiṇṇam, tīsu, trisu, tayaḥ, tribhiḥ, trayānām* etc.[677] The ordinals are *paṭhama, dutiya, tatiya, catuttha,* etc.[678]

Conjugation

Like Sanskrit, Pāli has many classes of roots.[679] Pāli grammarians mention two voices which are the *parassapada* and the *attanspada.*[680] But the Pāli literature always says about the *parassapada.*[681] There are four moods, the subjunctive, and four tenses, the present, aorist-imperfect, future and conditional in Pāli.[682] There is no perfect in Pāli.[683] It is known that many Pāli roots have changed their class.[684] Thus *yāyati,* from *yā,* to go *avāya, thāti* from *sthā,* beside *tiṭṭati, dāti* from *dā, jināti* from *ji* beside *jayati-jeti, hanati* from *han, bhāyati* from *bhī* etc.[685] There is also change in the *pāda.*[686] Thus we find *semi* from *śī.*[687]

Pāli does not show any distinction between strong and weak terminations.[698] ". . . If there is a strengthening of the root vowel before the singular termination, it is kept up also before the plural terminations, as in *homi* and *homa, amhi* and *amha, bravati bravanti*".[689] According to Pischel, there is the subjunctive in Pāli.[690] It is found that like in Sanskrit it, before terminations, consists in the lengthening of '*a*'. Thus *hanāsi, dahāsi, dahāti* etc.[691] There are optative terminations which are *eyyāmi, eyyāsi, eyya* for singular and *eyyāma* or *ema, eyyātha* or *etha, eyyum* for plural.[692]

It is known that in ordinary cases the imperfect and aorist are not strictly distinguished.[693] But only the '*s*' formations can be described as distinctly aoristic.[694] Originally the augment which mentions the past character of the two tenses is not obligatory in Pāli.[695] Thus we find *avacam, addasam,* and *ahum* first singular from *bhū, ahuvā, addasa* third singular; *ahumha, ahuvattha* first and second plural; *assum* third plural from *śru.*[696] Pāli has causatives, desideratives, intensives and denominatives.[697] There are causatives in *ay* and *p.*[698]. Thus *nāyati* from *nī, sunāpeti* from *śru, jīnāpeti* from *jī.*[699] *Pipāsati, bubhukkhati* etc. are desideratives.[700] *Lālapatti, caṁkamati, jaṁgamati* are from *lap, kram* and *gam.* They are intensives.[701] There are denominatives of different kinds.[702] They are *pabbatāyati, gaṇiyati, theneti* etc.[703]

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Pāli has present, past, future, and potential participles.[704] Thus we find *labhanto, kubbāṇa, sayamāṇa* present participle from *labh, kṛ* and *śī*.[705] *Paṭṭa, iṭṭha, bandha, pilandha*, first participle from *prāp, is, badh* and *pinaḥ*.[706] *Dinna, jīna* and *Sīna* are past participle in na.[707] *Jinitabba, katabba, hira* are mentioned as potential participle from *ji, kṛ*, and *hṛ*.[708]

Pāli has infinitives in *tum, tave, taye* and *tuye*.[709] Thus we find *jinitum, pahātave, ganetuye* which are from *ji, hā*, and *gaṇ*.[710] There are also gerunds in Pāli.[711] Thus we see *tvā: gantvā, diṣṭvā, tvāna: cetvāna, jinitvāna; tūna: kātūna, setūnam, ya : ahacca* from *hṛ; paticca* from *i* with *prati*.[712]

After a close study of the various facts relating to Pāli mentioned above we conclude here that from the phonological and morphological points of view Pāli comes very close to old Sanskrit than to the Prākṛts.[713] Like the Prākṛts, Pāli has dropped some vowels but as in the Prākṛts it has not weakened the consonants.[714] Practically Pāli inflection has kept all its wealth of forms, but in the Prākṛts we don't see these forms.[715] Thus the Pāli stage can be described as anterior to the Prākṛt stage.[716]

R.C Childers gives an account of Pāli, its phonology, and its characteristics. He states,[717] "If we compare Pāli with classical Sanskrit, we find that about two-fifths of the vocabulary consist of words indentical in form with their Sanskrit equivalents, as *nāga, Buddha, nidāna*. Nearly all the remaining words present in a more or less late or corrupted form. The change is in some instances slight, as when *sutra* becomes *sutta* or *Prajāpati* becomes *Pajāpati*; but there are extreme cases in which the change is so great that the identity is not at first sight apparent. Words of the above two classes nearly exhaust the Pāli vocabulary; but there remains a small though import residum of forms distinctly older than classical Sanskrit, and found only in the oldest known Sanskrit, that of the *Vedas*. Nay, I do not feel sure that Pāli does not retain a few precious relics older than the most ancient Sanskrit, and only to be explained through the allied Indo-Germanic languages.

It results from all this that Pāli cannot derive from Sanskrit; both though most intimately keen by devoted, being independent corruption of the last Aryan speech which is their common parent; but that Pāli is on the whole is a decidedly later stage than

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Sanskrit, and to adopt a metaphor popularised by Max-Müller stands to it in the relation of younger sister. If the *Pround boast* that Magadhese is the one primeval language fades in the light of comparative philology, Buddhists may console themselves with the thought that the teachings of Gautama confer upon it a greater lustre than it can derive from any fancied antiquity.

We have seen that historically, Pāli was a vernacular or language of the people, and this is fully confirmed by internal evidence. A close examination of its grammar and vocabulary reveals all the distinctive peculiarities of a vernacular. At every turn we come across words like *atraja* for Sanskrit *ātmaja*, *vīmaṁsā*, or *mimāṃsa*, *nisadā* for *drishad*, *jalābu* for *jarāyu*, *pārupana* for *prāvarana*, *makasu* for *masaka*, *aggini* for *agni*, *piñja* for *piccha*, *bhamu* for *bhrū*, *suṁsumāra* for *sisumāra*—. Again, the artificial regularity of Sanskrit *Sandhi* finds no place in the free and easy prose of *Magadha* and though *Sandhi* is certainly used in Pāli, it is hardly more used than in Italian or English. Another well-known feature of a vernacular is the frequency of double forms, like *dvādasa* and *bārasa* 'twelve', *rasmi* and *raṃsi*, '*ray*', *pappoti* and *pāpuṇāti* 'to obtain'. Not uncommonly these divergencies are utilized to differentiate meaning, as in the case of *aññatra* and *aññattha*, the former meaning 'except' and the latter 'elsewhere', while their Sanskrit original *anyatra* has both meanings. Words in common use, sometimes even appear under three or more forms, as when *agni* becomes *aggi*, *aggini*, *gini*, or *svāna* becomes *sāna*, *soṇa*, *sūna*, *svāna* and *suvāna*. But by far the most striking evidence of the vernacular character of Pāli is its wealth of idiom and colloquial expression. Sanskrit is essentially a formal and scientific language: poetry and the drama, science, philosophy and exegesis take up almost the whole of its literature, leaving but a small space for the light narrative and conversational writing which alone can make us acquainted with the inner life of an ancient people. But with Pāli the case is entirely different. Here a very large proportion of the literature consists of stories of Gautama's ministry among the people, of narratives and dialogues of the most varied description, of sermons addressed to all classes of men, and abounding in homely yet forcible illustrations drawn from the incidents of everyday life. Whole *strata* of Hindu life and character are opened up and explored which are hardly more than touched by Sanskrit literature and the colloquial idiom of ancient Hindustan is for the first time revealed to us.

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The change which Pāli has undergone relatively to Sanskrit, though considerable, is almost wholly confined to vocabulary. And here the parallel between Pāli and Italian stops short, for the latter, owing chiefly to foreign influence, has passed into an entirely new grammatical stage; and even looking only at its vocabulary, it is decidedly in a more advanced stage of phonetic decay than Pāli. The losses which Pāli has undergone are by no means inconsiderable. Its alphabet is deficient in the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, the dipthongs *ai*, and *au*, and the consonant *s*, *sh*, and *visarga*. The dual is lost in both declension and conjugation, and two of the tenses (the Periphrastic future and the Benedictive) are wanting. Some of the verbal roots are unrepresented in Pāli, of others only traces remain, and a host of verbal forms have disappeared. A large number of nouns are also lost, and such agencies as assimilation, vowel-shortening and the elimination of one out of two or more conjunct consonants has brought about a real improvement of the vocabulary.[718] But all that Pāli loses in one direction, it regains, much more, in another. The dual and the two tenses are easily spared. If some roots are little used, others have sprung into unexpected importance. If many nouns are lost, their place is taken by a greater number of new ones, while false analogy has brought into existence new verbal forms that may almost be reckoned by thousands,[719] and latitude of phonetic change makes up for all the losses caused by assimilation and other causes. The softening or breaking up of groups of consonants, the dropping of final consonants, the absence of rigid rules of *sandhi*, the absence of sounds like *ṛ*, *ṣ* and *au* — all this gives to Pāli a softness and flexibility for which we may gladly exchange the stately but harsh regularity of Sanskrit.

To the above brief sketch I have only to add that with the exception of a very few imported Dravidian nouns like *chāṭi*, and *chumbaṭa* there is no foreign element in Pāli. It is on the whole in the same inflectional stage as Sanskrit, and everything in its vocabulary, grammar and syntax can be explained from the sister tongue.[720] But at the same time it exhibits a remarkable elasticity, a power of enriching itself by throwing out new forms; we may perhaps even detect in it adumbrations of a tendency to pass into a later phonetic stage.[721] What Pāli would have become had it run on unchecked in its course of decay and regeneration may be seen from the modern Sinhalese which springs from an idiom closely allied to Pāli and has long passed into the analytical

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stage. To a great extent Sinhalase may for practical purposes be viewed as a lineal descendant of Pāli and it has worked out a whole legion of grammatical forms the germs of which may often be detected in Pāli. . .".

Importance of the Study of Pāli

The study of Pāli is important no doubt. Because it helps to reconstruct ancient Indian history. With the help of Pāli literature one is able to study properly the various branches of ancient Indian history. Because Pāli literature is vast and it has valuable materials which can easily satisfy readers and lovers of ancient Indian history to fulfil their dreams to study in a systematic way of not only social, political and religious history but also literary, linguistic, economic, cultural and architectural history of ancient India. The Pāli commentaries are regarded as store-house of information. From them we get facts of various fields of ancient Indian history. Pāli literature gives descriptions of the psycho-ethical account of the *dhammas*, a list of various branches of consciousness, mental processes, causal relations etc. and from these facts one can easily understand the valuable service rendered by Pāli literature to the development of Indian wisdom. Some of the books of the Pāli *Piṭakas* describe life and the activities of Gautama Buddha and other contemporary teachers who not only occupied prominent places but also contributed largely to ancient India's religious world. Like Sanskrit and the Prākṛts, the study of Pāli is also important for students of ancient Indian history as well as people who take keen interest to know various aspects of religious, cultural and political history of ancient Indian. There are many scholars from the west who showed their great interest in Buddhism and made a significant contribution to the popularity of Pāli study. We can say that the study of Pāli became very popular in the west than in the east. Because many books on Buddhism were published in the west and also the western scholars edited and translated many original Pāli texts for the popularity of Pāli study. These Pāli research works are very helpful and valuable for readers who want to do work on Buddhism and Buddhist history. At present in the east the study of Pāli has become very popular. Not only India and Sri Lanka, but Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand and Laos and even Japan are showing their interest in the study of Pāli. In these countries, Buddhism is playing a great role in the religious, social,

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cultural and educational fields.

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1. *PLL*, p. 1; *ICP*, p. 195.
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3. *SKC*, p. 22.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *DPL*, p. 322.
6. *ICP*, p. 195.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *SKC*, p. 22.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 22; *HPL*, I, P. xviii; *SKC*, p. 27.
17. *Ibid.*, I, p. xviii.
18. *SKC*, p. 22.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
22. *HPL*, I, p. xviii.
23. *Ibid.*, I, pp. ix ff.
24. *Ibid.*, p. ix, f.n. I; *DPL*, p. 322: "*Pāḷi-pā rakkhane li; Pāti, rakkhatiti, Pāḷi Pāliti ekacce. Tanti Buddhavacanaṁ, panti Pāli (Bhagavatā vuccamānassa atthassa vohārassa ca dipanato saddoyeva Pāḷi nāmāti ganṭhipadesu vuttaṁ'ti Abhidhammaṭṭha-kathāya likhitaṁ);*

Pāḷi saddo Pāḷidhmme-taḷākapāḷiyaṁpi ca
Bissato pantiyaṁ ceva-iti ñeyyaṁ vijānatā.

Ayaṁ hi Pālisaddo. Pāḷiyā attham upaparikkhanti 'ti ādisu pariyatti-dhammasaṅkhāte Pāḷidhamme dissati; Ṃahato taḷākassa pāḷi ti ādisu taḷākapāḷiyaṁ Pāliyā nisīdiṁ sūti ādisu paṭipāṭiyā nisīdiṁsūvti attho. Imasmiṁ panatthe dhātuyā kiccaṁ natthi, paṭipātiko hi pantivācake Paḷisaddo; pariyattidhammavācake pāḷisadde atthaṁ pāti, rakkhatiti pāliti ca, anodakaṁ rakkhaṇatthena mahato taḷākassa thirā mahati pāli viyā ti pāli ti ca. pakaṭṭhānaṁ ukkaṭṭhānaṁ sīlādiatthānaṁ badhanato sabhāvaniruttibhāvato Buddhādihi bhasitattā ca, pakaṭṭhānaṁ vacanappabandhānam āḷi ti pāḷiti ca nibbacanāni veditabbāni".

(*Abhidhammappadipikā sūci*).

25. *Mhv.*, ch. XXXVII, v. 227.
26. *HPL*, I, p. X

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27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. XI.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, I, p. XI; *CV*, V. 33, I, p. 139.
33. *Ibid.*, I, p. XI.
34. *Ibid.*, I, p. XI; *SPD*, p. 306.
35. *Ibid.*, I, p. XII.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, I, pp. XII-XIII.
38. *Ibid.*, I, p. XIII; *VP*, II, p. 139.
39. *Ibid.*, I, p. XIV.
40. *PLL*, pp. 6-7.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 7; *VT*, III—*SBE*, XX, p. 151.
42. Rev. S. Siddhartha, *Origin and Development of Pali language with special reference to Sanskrit, Buddhistic Studies*, Chapter XXIV, pp. 641-56, Indological Book House, Delhi. Varanasi 1983, ed.by B.C. Law, July 1931.
43. *SKC*, P. 21.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
45. *SL*, p. 58.
46. *ODBL*, Pt. I, p. 18.
47. *PLL*, p. 3.
48. *SKC*, p. 23.
49. *PLL*, p. 3; *Buddhaghosa: Etha sakā nirutti nāma sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhiko vohāro*, CC, v. 33, I.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
51. *SKC*, p. 24.
52. *Ibid.*
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54. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
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56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *DPL*, p. 321.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *HPL*, I, P. XVIII.
65. *DPL*, p. VII, f.n. I.

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66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, p. VII.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, p. VII, f.n. 3.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi; *HPL*, I, P. xviii.
72. *Ibid.*, p. xix.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *DPL*, p. 322.
75. *HPL*, I, P. XIX.
76. "*Pali Literature is pre-christian apparently whereas the Sanskrit drama with māgadhī is several centuries posterior to Christ*". — *SKC*, p. 24.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *DPL*, p. vii, f.n.2.
80. *HPL*, I, P. xix; *SKC*, p. 24; *VP*, I, pp. 1 ff and p. liv; *ICP*, p. 218.
81. *VP*, I, PP. 1 ff; *ICP*, p. 218; *PLL*, p.4.
82. *SGPL*, p. iii; *PLL*, p. 4; *HPL*; I, p. xx.
83. *SKC*, p. 24; *ICP*, p. 218.
84. *SKC*, p. 25.
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86. *Ibid.*, p. 3; *Beiträge Zur Pāli Grammatik*, p.9.
87. *SKC*, p. 25.
88. *ICP*, p. 218.
89. *SKC*, p. 26.
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92. Ibid., pp. 3-4; *SKC*, p. 26.
93. *PS*, ch. x, p. 138; *HPL*, I, p. xx.
94. *ICP*, pp. 218-19.
95. *HPL* I, p. xxi; Sten Konow, *The home of Paiśācī*, *ZDMG*, pp. 64, 95; *SKC*, p. 26; *PLL*, p. 4.
96. *Ibid.*, I, p. xxi; *ibid.*, p. 26; *ibid.*, p. 4.
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99. *BI, pp. 153-54; HPL*, I, p. xxi.
100. *SKC*, p. 26.
101. *HPL*, I, pp. xxi-xxii.
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103. *Ibid.*
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107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.
109. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*
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113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*, I, p. xxiii-xxiv.
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118. *HPL*, p. xix.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx.
124. *Ibid.*, p. xx.
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127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. *SKC*, pp. 27-28.
133. *HPL*, I, p. xx. Prof. P. V. Bapat in his paper on the relation between Pāli and *Ardhamāgadhi published in the Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1928 mentions that from the evidence of phonology, grammar, Pāli and *Māhrātti* and the works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, it is not proper to say definitely that Pāli is a literary language which is based on *Ardhamāgadhi*. (*HPL*, I, p.xx; *AMMV*, pt. II, pp. 91-105.).
134. *PLL*, pp. 4-5.
135. *HPL*, I, p. xxiv.
136. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Ibid.*
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141. *Ibid.*
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143. Dr. A. B. Keith, *The Home of Pali, Buddhistic Studies*, ch. XXXI, pp. 728-48, ed. by B.C. Law, Indological Book House, Delhi and Varanasi, 1983.
144. *PLL*, p. 1.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.*, p. 2; *Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en do Godenkstukken van Açoka don Buddhist*, Amsterdam, 1873, p. 13.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 2; *PG* P. XLII.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 2; *Beiträge Zur Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 9.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
154. *Ibid.*
155. *SKC*, p. 20.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
161. The old Indo-Aryan period is regarded as the first period of the Aryan language in India which was from 1500 to 600 B.C. *Vedic* Sanskrit represented the Old Indo-Aryan period. In phonetics and morphology, classical Sanskrit was also a representative of the Old Indo-Aryan period: *SKC*, p. 10.
162. The Middle Indo-Aryan period was from 600 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The early period of the Middle Indo-Aryan stage of the Aryan speech was from 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. The Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan stage was from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The second Middle Indo-Aryan stage was from 200 A.D. to 600 A.D. The Third Middle Indo-Aryan stage was from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. Then came the New Indo-Aryan period. Pāli was a representative of the early Middle Indo-Aryan period. — *Ibid.*, p. 10.
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164. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
165. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
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201. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
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221. *Ibid.*
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Ibid.*
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *PLL*, p. 61.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *ibid.*, p. 61.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *ibid.*, p. 61.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *ibid.*, p. 61.
229. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *ICP*, p. 202.
230. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *ibid.*, p. 202.
231. *ICP*, p. 202.
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233. *Ibid.*
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236. *SKC*, p. 33.
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241. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
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268. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
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274. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
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297. *SKC*, p. 35.

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307. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
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313. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
314. *Ibid.*
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317. *Ibid.*
318. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
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320. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
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324. *Ibid.*
325. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
326. *Ibid.*, p. 39; *PLL*, p. 65.
327. *Ibid.*, P. 40; *ibid.*, p. 66.
328. *Ibid.*, p.40; *ibid.*, p.66.
329. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *ibid.*, p. 66.
330. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
331. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *PLL*, pp. 66 ff.
332. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
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334. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *PLL*, pp. 66ff.
335. *ibid.*, p. 40; *ibid.*, p. 67.
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340. *Ibid.*, p. 41; *ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
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343. *Ibid.*, p. 41; *PLL*, p. 68.
344. *Ibid.*, p. 41; *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
345. *Ibid.*, p. 42; *ibid.*, p. 69.
346. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
347. *Ibid.*, p. 42; *PLL*, p. 69.
348. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
349. *Ibid.*, p. 69; *SKC*, p. 42.
350. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *ibid.*, p. 42.
351. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *ibid.*, p. 42.
352. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *ibid.*, p. 42.
353. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *ibid.*, p. 42.
354. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *ibid.*, p. 43.
355. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
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357. *Ibid.*, p. 43; *PLL*, pp. 70-71.
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360. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *ibid.*, p. 44.
361. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *ibid.*, p. 44.
362. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *ibid.*, p. 44.
363. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73; *ibid.*, p. 44.
364. *Ibid.*, p. 73; *ibid.*, p. 44.
365. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74 *ibid.*, p. 44.
366. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74; *ibid.*, p. 44.
367. *Ibid.*, p. 73; *ibid.*, p. 44.
368. *Ibid.*, p. 74; *ibid.*, p. 44.
369. *Ibid.*, p. 74; *ibid.*, p. 44.
370. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
371. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *PLL*, p. 74.
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373. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ibid.*, p. 75.
374. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ibid.*, p. 75.
375. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ibid.*, p. 76.
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382. *Ibid.*, 45; *ibid.*, p. 77.
383. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ibid.*, p. 77.
384. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46; *ibid.*, p.78
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406. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
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429. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
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480. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *PLL*, p. 92.
481. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 92.
482. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 92.
483. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
484. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
485. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93
486. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
487. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
488. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
489. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
490. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
491. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, p. 93.
492. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
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504. *Ibid.*, p. 55; *ibid.* p. 95.
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537. *Ibid.*, p. 58; *ibid.*, p. 100.
538. *Ibid.*, p. 58; *ibid.*, pp. 100-01.
539. *Ibid.*, p. 58; *ibid.*, p. 101.
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543. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *ibid.*, pp. 101-02.

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546. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *PLL*, p. 102.
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548. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *ibid.*, p. 102.
549. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *ibid.*, p. 103.
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552. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *ibid.*, p. 103.
553. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
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555. *Ibid.*, p. 103; *SKC*, p. 60.
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563. *Ibid.*, p. 60; *ibid.*, p. 106.
564. *Ibid.*, p. 60; *ibid.*, p. 106.
565. *Ibid.*, p. 60; *ibid.*, p. 105.
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603. *Ibid.*, p. 64; *PLL*, p. 117.
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652. *ICP*, p. 210.
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656. *Ibid.*
657. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
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670. *Ibid.*
671. *PLL*, p. 142.
672. *ICP*, p. 212.
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677. *Ibid.*
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714. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

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718. *DPL*, pp. xii ff.

719. "Here are a few of the many examples of two or more different Sanskrit words assuming the same form in Pāli. *Dosa* —*dvesha* and *dosha*, *eṭṭhu* —*ushṭra* and *oshṭha*, *ahosi* aur. From *hu* and from *bhû*, *diṭṭha* —*dvishṭa* and *dṛishṭa*, *rukkha*—*vṛiksha* and *ruksha*, *aṭṭa*—*aṭṭa* and *ārta*, *jhāyati*—*kshāyati* and *dhyāyati*, *achchha* —*achchha* and *riksha*, *vassati*—*varshati* and *vāsyato*, *ratana*—*ratna* and *ratni*, *muddikā*—*mudrikā* and *mṛidhvikā*, *kavī* —*kavi* and *kapi*, *jeyye* —*jyāyas* and *jeya*, *bhusa* —*busa* and *bhṛiṣa*, *aññāta* —*ājñāta*, and *ajnatā patta* —*pattra*, *prāpta* and *pātra*, *sattha* —*sāstra*, *sastra* and *sārtha*, *oppamatta* —*alpamātra* and *apramatta*, *khipati* 'to sneeze' from *kshiv* and *khipati* 'to throw from *kship*."

720. "Sometimes the older or regular form only is in use, as *gacchati dissati*, *dassati*, *bhavati* (or *hoti*). Sometimes the regular form is lost and its place supplied by an irregular one due to false analogy, as *pachissati* compared with *pakshyati*. But in innumerable cases regular and irregular forms co-exist, to the great enrichment of the language, as *dakkhati* and *passissati*, *dajjā* and *dadeyya*."

721. "I have been obliged to leave a considerable number of words unidentified in my dictionary, but as our knowledge increases the list will steadily diminish, and if some words should finally remain unidentified (which is extremely probable) we must remember the vernaculer character of Pāli, which would explain its possessing many undoubted Aryan words which have not crept into Sanskrit literature. Thus the Pāli name for white ant, *upachikā*, which is almost certainly a derivative of *upachi*, does not occur in Sanskrit, because I suppose, the white ant does not happen to be mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The same argument applies to words like *karavika*, *kachavars*, *nālipaṭṭa*, *oḍḍeti*, *niyura*, *kakkāri*, *kakaṇṭaka*, *kaṭṭhisa*, *pulava*, *jalogi*, *kusa*, *kukkula*, *kukutthaka* and many others."

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2

Dhamma and *Vinaya*

(*Sutta* and *Vinaya*)

HERE is given an account of *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*.

DHAMMA

According to R.C. Childers,[1] the term *Dhamma* is nature, condition, quality, property, characteristic, function, practice, duty, object, thing, idea and phenomenon. He says that, it means doctrine, teaching, law, virtue, piety, justice, law or truth of the Buddha, the Buddhist scriptures and religion.[2] He states here that "*dhammāni sutvā*" signifies "having heard religious truth or doctrine".[3] He also mentions here that "*Tiso saṅgitiyo ārūḷhadhammo*", i.e., "the doctrines or scriptures rehearsed at the three councils".[4] He describes that "the doctrinal portions of the *Tipiṭaka*, viz., the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* are called *Dhamma* is contradistinction to the *vinaya*, *Dhamma* 'doctrine' is also opposed to *Abhidhamma*, 'metaphysical doctrine'"[5] He opines that *Dhammavinaya* is called "Doctrine and Discipline".[6] Here he also gives the meaning of *dhamma* which signifies a religious discourse or exposition.[7]

T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede[8] refer to the meaning of the term *dhamma*. They say that *Dhamma* is *Ved. dharma* and *dharman*, the latter a formation like *karman*. *Dhṛ*, to hold, support, that which forms a foundation and upholds is constitution. Buddhaghoṣa[9] mentions a fourfold meaning of the word *dhamma*. He describes that *dhamma* is "(1) *guṇa* (*saddo*), applied to good conduct; (2) *desanāyan*, to preaching and moral instruction; (3) *pariyattiyan*, to the nine-fold collection of the Buddhist scriptures (*navaṅgabuddhasāsana* or *navaṅgasatthusāsana*); (4) *nissate*

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(*nijjīvate*), to cosmic law".[10] He also in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhakathā* says another fourfold definition of *dhamma*. He states that *dhamma* is "(1) pariyatti or doctrine as formulated, (2) *hetu* or condition, casual antecedent, (3) *guna* or moral quality or action, (4) *nissatta-nijivatā*, or "the phenomenal" as opposed to "the substantial", "the nominal", "animistic entity"." [11] T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede interpret the term *dhamma* by the fourfold connotation, i.e., doctrine, right or righteousness, condition and phenomenon.[12]

T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede give a detailed account of the meaning of the term *dhamma*. They state[13] that:

"(1) psychologically "mentality" as the constitutive element of cognition and of its substratum, the world of phenomena. It is that which is presented as "object" to the imagination and as such has an effect of its own: a presentation or idea, idea or purely mental phenomenon as distinguished from a psycho-physical phenomenon or sensation. The mind deals with ideas as the eye deals with forms; it is the abstraction formed by *mano*, or mind proper, from the objects of sense presented by the sense-organ when reacting to external objects. Thus *cakkhu* "faculty of sight" corresponds to *rūpa* "relation of forms and *mano* "faculty of thought" corresponds to *dhamma* "mentalized object or idea".

(a) Subjective: *dhamma* is mental attitude, thought, idea, philosophy, truth and its recognition (*anubodhi*) by the Buddha, i.e., the *dhamma* or world wisdom — philosophy of the Buddha as contained and expounded in the Dialogues of the 5 *Nikāyas*. The idea of *dhamma* as the interpreted order of the world is carried further in the poetical quasi-personification of the *Dhamma* with the phrase "*Dhammaja dh-nimmita dh-dāyāda*" (born of the Norm, created by the Norm, heir of the Norm —). That which the Buddha preached, the *Dhamma* was the order of law of the universe, eternal, uncreated, not as interpreted by him only, much less invented or decreed by him, but intelligible to a mind of his range, and by him made to be mankind as *bodhi*: revelation, awakening. The Buddha (like every great philosopher and other Buddhas preceding Gotama: *ye pi te ahesuṇ atītan addhānaṇ Arahanto Sammāsambuddhā te pi dhammaṃ yeva sakkeṭvā)* (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, 140) is a discoverer of this order of the *Dhamma*, this universal logic, philosophy of righteousness ("Norm") in which the rational and ethical elements are fused into

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one. Thus by recognition of the truth the knower becomes the incorporation of the knowledge (or the sense of the universe — *Dhamma*) and therefore a perfect man, one who is "truly enlightened" (*sammā sambuddha*); so *Bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti passan passati cakkhu bhūto ñāṇa-bhūto dhamma brahmaṇa* and in this possession of truth he is not like Brahmā but Brahmā himself and the lord of the world as the "master of the Truth"; *vattā pavattā atthassa ninnetā amatassa dātā dhammassāmi (Saṁyutta Nikāya*, IV, 94) and similarly "*yo kho dhamman passati so mam passati; yo mam passati so Dhamman passati* "— he who sees the Buddha, sees the Truth (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, III, 120). As the sixth sense object "*dhamma*" is the counterpart of "*mano*", '*manasā' dhamman viññāya*' 'apperceiving presentations with the mind'. Ranged in the same category under the *anupassanā*-formula we see "*dhammesu dhamm-ānupassin*", "realising the mentality of mental objects or ideas (*Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 95, 100, 299; I, 39; 296; III, 450; IV, 30).

(b) Objective: substratum (of congnition), piece, constituent (-*Khandhas*), constitution, phenomenon, thing, "world", cosmic order.

(2) Ratio-ethically

(a) Objective: *dhamma* is "rationality", anything that is as it should be according to its reason and logic, i.e., right property, sound condition, norm, propriety, constitution, as conforming to No. 1 in universal application, i.e., natural or cosmic law.

(b) Subjective: "morality", right behaviour, righteousness, practice, duty, maxim, constitution of character etc.

The *Dhamma* is moral philosophy, wisdom, truth as propounded by Gotama Buddha in his discourses and conversations. *Dhamma* as doctrine is also opposed to *Abhidhamma* "what follows on the *Dhamma* "— (1) *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* are wisdom and discipline. Thus we see "*bhikkhū suttantikā vinaya-dharā dhammakathikā*", i.e., "the *bhikkhus* who know the *suttantas*, remember the *Vinaya* and preach the word of the Buddha". (*Vinaya*, II, 75)".

R.C. Childers[14] mentions *anudhamma* as lesser or inferior *dhamma*. But from the *Nikāya* passages we learn that *anudhamma* means "in conformity with, in logical sequence to the

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dhamma", i.e., lawfulness, righteousness, reasonableness, truth.[15] The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II, 8) describes, "*dhammassa hoti anudhamma-cārin*", "walking in perfect conformity to the *Dhamma*".[16] The *Dīgha Nikāya* (II, 224; III, 119) states, "*dhamma-anudhamma patipanna*, "one who has reached the complete righteousness of the *Dhamma*".[17]

Tadensz Skorupski gives a detailed account of Buddhist *dharma* and *dharmas*.[18] He describes, "The pan-Indian term *dharma* from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ* "to sustain, to hold"; Pāli *dhamma*; Tibetan *chos*) has acquired a variety of meanings and interpretations in the course of many centuries of Indian religious thought. Buddhism shares this term and some of its meanings with other Indian religions, but at the same time it has provided a set of unique and exclusive interpretations of its own. *Dharma* can imply many different meanings in various contexts and with reference to different things. Here we shall consider it under two general headings: the first, as *dharma* in a general sense, comprising a variety of meanings, and the second, as *dharma(s)* in a technical sense, the ultimate constituents or elements of the whole of the existing reality.

General Usages

Dharma was and still is employed by all the religious denominations that have organised in India to indicate their religious beliefs and practices. In this sense, *dharma* refers broadly to what we would term "religion". *Dharma* also designates the universal order, the natural law or the uniform norm according to which the whole world (*saṃsāra*) runs its course. Within the Buddhist context this universal order be co-ordinated in the doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītya samutpāda*). This rigorous natural law, which controls the sequence of events and the behaviour and acts of beings, has no cause or originator. It is beginningless and functions of its own nature. It is said in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, and later rephrased in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* that the nature of things is such that the causal law as the inevitable determination of *karman* continues to evolve spontaneously whether or not the *tathāgatas* appear in this world. It is an inherent and all-pervading law that does not depend for its existence on the appearance of the Buddhas, whose mission in this world is merely to reveal it, *Śākyamuni* Buddha first perceived

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and understood the fundamental law and then proclaimed and explained it to his followers. The discovery of the nature of *dharma* is compared in some *sūtras* to the discovery of an old and forgotten city. In the *Mahāyāna*, especially within the context of the doctrine of the three Buddha bodies (*trikāya*) and the reinterpretation of the relationship between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* as two aspects of the same reality, *dharma* as the universal norm received a wider and deeper interpretation. As part of the compound *dharmakāya*, it signifies both the imminent and transcendental reality of all beings and appearances. Thus it clearly denotes the essence of sentient beings as well as the nature of the Buddhas. In the sense of denoting phenomenal existence, it is also referred to as reality (*dharmatā*), the essence of reality (*dharmadhātu*), suchness (*tathatā*), emptiness (*śūnyatā*), or store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*). In the sense of referring to the nature of the Buddhas, it is known as Buddhahood (*buddhatā*), as the self-nature of the Buddhas (*Buddhasvabhāva*), or as the womb of the Buddhas (*tathāgata-garbha*).

Dharma as the Budha's teaching or doctorine as a whole comprises his exposition of the universal order of nature as described above and his proclamation of the path toward deliverance. Thus when his teaching is meant as a whole system it is the term *dharma* (or *sasana*) that is employed. When his teachings are referred to or explained from two different angles, that is, when theoretical and practical aspects are differentiated, two terms are employed: *dharma*, as a body of religio-philosophical discourses as contained in the *sūtras*, and *vinaya*, or monastic discipline, the rules and regulations for the application and practice of *dharma*. The *Prātimokṣa* (monastic code) contains rules of conduct, each of which is also called *dharma*.

The shortest and yet the clearest exposition of *dharma* as the Buddha's word (*buddhavacana*) is epitomized in Śākyamuni's first sermon, when he "set in motion" (i.e., proclaimed) the wheel (*lore*) of *dharma*: The Four Noble Truths and Eightfold Noble Path. There is suffering and it has a cause that can be eliminated through the knowledge and practice of the path of *dharma* as summarized by the Eightfold Noble Path: right view, right conduct, and so forth. Another presentation of the same path is articulated within the basic trilogy of monastic practice of cultivating wisdom (*prajñā*),

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morality (*śīla*) and meditation (*dhyāna*). Through wisdom and acquires a full vision of *dharma*, through morality one purifies all that obscures the vision of *dharma*, and through meditation one matures *dharma* within oneself and indeed transforms oneself into an epitome of *dharma*.

Dharma denotes truth, knowledge, morality, and duty. It is the truth about the state and function of the world, the truth about how to eliminate its evil tendencies, and the truth about its immutable spiritual potentiality. It is knowledge in the sense that once one becomes aware of *dharma* one acquires the knowledge to become free from the bounds of phenomenal existence. It is morality, for it contains a code of moral conduct that conduces to spiritual purification and maturation. It is duty, of whoever professes *dharma* to comply with its norms and to achieve the goal that it sets forth. In this sense there is only one duty in Buddhism: the ceaseless and constant effort to strive for *nirvāṇa*.

Dharma, together with the Buddha and the *Saṅgha* constitute a "threefold jewel (*triratna*) before which one makes prostrations and in which one takes refuge. Here *dharma* does not so much represent a body of teachings as it assumes a character of awesomeness, protection, and deliverance wholly appropriate to the Truth. One stands in awe of *dharma* as a self-sustained, righteousness whose universal legacy is to protect through its righteousness those who profess it. Soon after his enlightenment, realizing that there is no one more perfect than himself in virtue, wisdom, and meditation under whom he could live in obedience and reverence. Śākyamuni decided that he would live honouring and revering *dharma*, the universal truth he had just realized. As one of the three Jewels, the Buddha is *dharma*'s embodied personi- fication, revealer and teacher. The *Saṅgha* constitutes a body of *dharma*'s followers among whom *dharma* thrives as the norm of daily life, becoming an inspiration and a path to deliverance. The three jewels as conceived in the early period can be paralleled, as a somewhat general comparison, with the later concept of the three Buddha bodies. *Dharma* as *dharmakāya* represents its own sublime and absolute aspect, the Buddha as a *sambhogakāya* represents the pure and glorified state of *dharma*, and the *saṅgha* as *nirmānakāya* represents *dharma* as discovered and operating within the world.

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Technical Usages

Strictly the technical meaning of *dharmas* as ultimate elements or principles of existence as systematized in the *Abhidharma* literature, especially in the *Abhidharma* works of the *Sarvāstivāda* school, is not so distinct or rigidly formulated in the four *Nikāyas* (*Āgamas*). In the *sūtras* of the four *Nikāyas* we find many descriptions of *dharmas* and their various classifications, but their systematization into what we could call "*dharma* theory" took place within the *Abhidharma* literature. Thus, in the *Nikāya dharmas* are usually characterized as good or bad with reference to ethical conduct, but receives little attention as coherent metaphysical or epistemological systems. The *Dasuttara Sutta* enumerates some 550 *dharmas* to be cultivated or abandoned. The *Saṅgīti Sutta* gives an even larger number of them, and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* lists some 1, 011 *dharmas*. In this latter work, we also find a set of *dharmas* that Śākyamuni ascertained to be for the benefit of living beings. These include the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣya dharmas* that constitute the thirty-seven practices and principles conducive to the attainment of enlightenment.

Rather than pr ding further examples from the *sūtras* I propose now to concentrate on describing the *dharma* theory of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. Within its systematized presentation one finds practically all the important aspects of *dharmas* and their role.

Buddhism makes an emphatic and "dogmatic" statement that a "soul" (*ātman*) as interpreted by non-Buddhist schools in India does not exist. By denying the existence of a soul as a permanent and unifying factor of a human entity it has removed all grounds for asserting the permanency of the human entity or the existence of any indestructible element therein. With reference to the substantiality of physical things it has removed the concept of substance and replaced it by modalities: there is no substance but only the appearances of what we call substances or things. Having removed the notion of substance Buddhism has construed an explanation as to how this world functions. According to this explanation, the universe is seen as a flux of *dharmas*, the smallest elements or principles of which it consists, but this flux is not merely a flux of incoherent or change. On the contrary, the world evolves according to the strict law of dependent origination (*pratītya samutpāda*).

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This universal flux can be conveniently viewed for the moment, at three simultaneous and interrelated levels. If we take the inanimate world (matter) alone, it flows in accordance with a uniformly homogenous and natural law of change. Similarly, the organic world (vegetation) flows according to its own uniform evolution of natural life (germination, growth etc.). The third level is constituted by sentient life. This last one, apart from comprehending the other levels (matter and organic functions), includes a sentient element (consciousness or mind) as well. In general, we can say that it includes material as well as immediate elements. Such sentient life in which the material and immaterial elements are tied together, evolves or flows according to the strict law of causality as decreed in the causal nexus of dependent origination. Furthermore, this constant flux of sentient life co-ordinated by the law of dependent origination has a moral law superimposed upon it: the "law" of *karman*. It is with regard to such a flux that the *dharma* theory attempts to provide an explanation. There is no substance or person but there are *dharmas* (psychophysical elements) that flow according to the law of dependent origination that is set in motion by the law of *karman*. Basically, the *dharma* theory provides an explanation of how the universe functions within the context of a sentient life, in particular a human flux, for it is human life that Buddhism is concerned with. *Dharma* theory constitutes them not so much an explanation of what the universe is as it does an attempt to describe of what it consists and how it functions. Thus, in the detailed enumeration of *dharmas* as basic and infinitesimal elements that constitute the conglomeration of the universe we find an analysis of human life and its destiny. But the analysis is not "Buddhist psychology" as many call it; it is an exposition of both the constant and inevitably co-ordinated flux of phenomena and the inherent potentiality of bringing this flux to a halt.

I shall now describe some general classification of *dharmas* (again, after the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*). *Dharmas* are divided into conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). The conditioned *dharmas* (seventy-two in all) comprise all the elements of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*). They are called conditioned because by their nature and in their flow they co-operate in and are subject to the law of causality; they conglomerate or co-operate in the production of life (*pṛthagjana*). The unconditioned elements (three in all) are those that are not subject to the law

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that governs phenomenal existance. *Dharmas* are also divided into those that are influenced or permeated by negative tendencies or depravities (*āsaava;* in a moral sense, bad *karmas*) and those that are not under the influence of depravities (*anāsrava*; morally, good *karmas*). These are the same *dharmas* as in the previous classification but here they are viewed from two aspects: when they are influenced chiefly by ignorance (*avidyā*) their flux has the tendency to perpetuate itself; when they are under the influence of intuitive wisdom (*prajñā*) they acquire the tendency toward appeasement or tranquallity. But their nature the unconditioned *dharmas* must be classed among the *dharmas* that are not under the influence of depravities. We should recall here that the chief characteristic of *saṃsāra* is motion or unrest, *dukha*, and that of *nirvāṇa* is tranquillity, *nirodha*: The *dharmas* can be also divided in relationship to the Four Truths. Here again we have a two-fold division. The first two truths (unrest, *dukha* and its cause *samudaya*) refer to the seventy-two *dharmas* that are permeated by depravities or that are conditioned. The two other truths (rest, *nirodha*, and the means to it, *mārga*) refer to the three unconditioned *dharmas* that are always at rest (*nirodha*) and to the *dharmas* that are on the way (*mārga*) to become extinguished (*nirodha*).

Having described the general divisions I shall now proceed to list a set of three standard classifications within which individual *dharmas* are distributed. The first classification, which includes the conditioned *dharmas* alone, refers to their grouping as perceived in a sentient life. This classification divides *dharmas* into five aggregates or *skandhas*. Here we have (1) matter or body (*rūpaskandha*): eleven *dharmas*; (2) feelings, sensations, or emotions (*vadanāskandha*): one *dharma*; (3) perceptions (*saṃjñā-skandha*): one *dharma*; (4) Impulses or will-forces (*saṃskāra-skandha*): fifty-eight *dharmas*; (5) consciousness or mind (*vijñānaskandha*): one *dharma*. This division into five *skandhas* not only constitutes an analysis of all phenomena but also serves to prove that there is no soul (*ātman*) in a human entity; for none of the five *skandhas* can be divided with or regarded as a soul.

The second classification divided *dharmas* with reference to the process of congnition. Here we have the six sense-organs (*indriya*) and the six sense objects (*viṣaya*) jointly called the 'bases' or 'foundations' (*āyatana*) of cognition. The six sense-organs or

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internal bases are (1) sense of vision (*cakṣur-indriya-āyatana*); (2) sense of hearing (*śrotra-*); (3) sense of smell (*ghrāna-*); (4) sense of taste (*jihvā-*); (5) sense of touch (*kāya-*) and (6) consciousness or intellectual faculty (*mana-*). The six sense objects or external bases are (7) colour and form (*rūpa-āyatana*); (8) sound (*śabda-*); (9) smell (*gandha-*); (10) taste (*rasa-*). (11) contact (*spraṣṭavyā*); and (12) non-sensuous or immaterial objects (*dharma-*). The first eleven *āyatanas* have one *dharma* each; the immaterial objects comprise sixty-four *dharmas*.

The third classification groups *dharmas* in relationship to the flow (*santāna*) of life evolves within the threefold world (*kāma-rūpa* and *arūpa-dhātu*) as described by Buddhist cosmology. This group is divided into eighteen *dhātus* or elements. It incorporates the previous division into the twelve basis, to which is added a corresponding set of six kinds of consciousness to the intellectual faculty. Thus we have (13) visual consciousness (*cakṣur-vijñāna-dhātu*); (14) auditory consciousness (*śrotra-*); (15) olfactory consciousness (*ghrāṇa-*); (16) gustatory consciousness (*jihvā-*); (17) tactile consciousness (*kāya-*); and (18) non-sensuous consciousness (*mano-*). within this group the five sense-organs and their five objects contain one *dharma* each (ten *dharmas* in all). Consciousness (no. 6) is divided here into seven *dhatus* (no. 6 plus 13-18). The *dhatu* that represents immaterial objects (no. 12) contains sixty-four *dharmas*. All the eighteen *dhātus* exist in the sensuous world (*kāmadhātu*) or the world in which the mind operates through the sense data. In the world of refined matter (*rūpa-dhātu*), the objects of smell and taste (nos. 9-10) and the olfactory and gustatory consciousness cease to exist. In the world without matter (but frequently interpreted as very subtle matter for we are still within *saṃsāra*) all the *dhātus* cease to exist except for consciousness (no. 6), its immaterial objects (no. 12) and its nonsensuous aspect of cognition (no. 18).

Now at last we come to enumerate the individual *dharmas*. Within the classification into the five *skandhas*, matter (*rūpa*) contains eleven *dharmas*; five sense-organs (*āyatanas* 1-5) and their five corresponding sense-objects (*āyatanas* 7-11), plus an additional elements to be discussed below. *Āyatana (dhātu)* number 12 (nonsensuous objects) is in this system classified as an immaterial *dharma*, as we shall see, and hence is not considered here.

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Matter or body is conceived as consisting of the four primary elements (*mahādhātus*) — earth, water, fire and air. Secondary or refined matter (*bhautika*, derived form or related to matter) is represented by the senses and their objects (i.e., sense data). As already mentioned above, there is no substance as such. The four primary elements are talked about in Buddhism but rightly understood as these are taken to refer to properties : hardness (earth), cohesion (water), heat (fire) and motion (wind).

TABLE I
The Twelve *Āyatanas* or the Eighteen *Dhātus*
Bases of Cognition (*āyatana*), consciousness (*vijñāna*), receptive faculties (*indriya*), objects (*visaya*)

1. Sense of vision (*cakṣur-indriya-āyatana*)	7. Colour and form (*rūpa-āyatana*)	13. Visual consciousness (*cakṣur vijñā-dna-hātu*)
2. Sense of hearing (*śrota-*)	8. Sound (*śabda-*)	14. Auditory consciousness (*śrota-*)
3. Sense of smell (*ghrāṇa-*)	9. Smell (*gandha-*)	15. Olfactory consciousness (*ghrāṇa-*)
4. Sense of taste (*jihvā-*)	10. Taste (*rasa-*)	16. Gustatory consciousness (*jivhā-*)
5. Sense of touch (*kāya-*)	11. Contact, tangibles (*spraṣṭavya-*)	17. Tactile consciousness(*kāya-*)
6. Intellect (*mana-*)	12. Nonsensuous objects (*dharma-*)	18. Nonsensuous consciousness (*mano-*)

The primary matter (four elements) present in a body, sustains the secondary matter (the sense and their objects). Since the Buddhists analyze matter within the context of a sentient life, their description of matter is mainly concerned with discerning how it functions and how it appears, not with what it is, for properly speaking it does not exist. The world is in constant flux, the living life changes from one moment to the next. Consequently, because Buddhists are constrained from speaking in terms of soul or substance, matter is styled as sense data alone. Such a definition of the physical *dharmas* that constitute the sense *data* (ten *dharmas*) accounts for the component of matter that substains consciousness, the other component of sentient life. What then is the eleventh *dharma* ?

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The *Sarvāstivāda*, viewing the human personality as a threefold aspect of body, speech and mind, divided *karman* (as it operates within a sentient life) into mental action (*manas*, identified with volition, or *cetanā*), and physical and vocal actions. Mental action was classed as immaterial but physical and vocal actions that proceed from mental action were classed as belonging to matter (*sūpaskandha*). Furthermore, physical and vocal action was seen as being an (external) "expression" (*vijñapti*), but when mental action was committed but not externalized, its "material" concomitant was seen as "non-expression" (*avijñapti*). It is the latter "unexpressed matter" (*avijñapti rūpa*) that constitutes the eleventh *dharma* among the *skandha* division. Although immaterial, it was classed as matter because physical and vocal action with which it was associated was classed as such.

Three *skandhas* (feelings, perceptions and impulses) contain jointly sixty *dharmas*, which are included as immaterial objects — within the two other (*āyatana*, *dhātu*) classifications (no. 12 in both). The three immutable elements (*asaṃskṛta*) and *avijñapti* are also included among the immaterial *dharmas* of these two latter divisions, thus making a total of sixty-four *dharmas*.

Now I shall describe the sixty *dharmas* that are included in all three classifications (*skandha*, *āyatana* and *dhātu*). They are divided into two main groups: one group comprises forty-six associated *dharmas* or mental *dharmas* (*caittadharmas*), that arise from or in association with pure consciousness or mind (*cittasaṃprayuktasaṃskāra*); the second group comprises fourteen unassociated *dharmas*, that is to say, *dharmas* that can be associated neither with matter nor with mind (*rūpa-citta-viprayukta-saṃskāra*).

The forty-six associated *dharmas* include ten mental *dharmas* that are present in a sentient life (*citta-mahā-bhūmika*): (1) feeling, (2) perception, (3) will, (4) contact, (5) desire, (6) comprehension, (7) memory, (8) attention, (9) aspiration, and (10) concentration; ten morally good (*kusala-mahābhūmika*) *dharmas* that are present in favourable conditions: (11) faith, (12) courage, (13) equanimity, (14) modesty, (15) aversion to evil, (16) detachment from love, (17) detachment from hatred, (18) non-violence, (19) dexterity, and (20) perseverance in good; six obscuring (*klésa-mahā-bhūmika*) *dharmas* that enter the stream of a sentient life in unfavourable moments; (21) confusion (ignorance), (22) remissness, (23) mental

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dullness, (24) lack of faith, (25) indolence, and (26) addiction to pleasure; ten additional obscuring (*upakleśa-bhūmika*) *dharmas* that may occur at different times: (27) anger, (28) hypocrisy, (29) maliciousness, (30) envy, (31) ill-motivated rivalry, (32) violence, (33) malice, (34) deceit, (35) treachery, and (36) self-gratification; two universally inauspicious (*akusala-mahā-bhūmika*) *dharmas*; (37) irreverance, and (38) wilful tolerance of offences; and eight *dharmas* that are called undetermined (*aniyata-bhūmika*) or undifferentiated in the sense that can have different moral implications: (39) remorse, (40) deliberation, (41) investigation, (42) determination, (43) passion, (44) hatred, (45) pride, and (46) doubt. All forty-six *dharmas* listed above cannot be associated with (or confused with) consciousness at the same time on the general principle that their inner inclinations are variously geared towards either good or evil.

The fourteen unassociated *dharmas* are (47) acquisition (*prāpti*) or the controlling force of an individual flux of life, (48) force (*aprāpti*) that suspends some element, (49) force of homogeneity of existence, (50) force that leads to trance, (51) force produced by effort to enter trance, (52) force that stops consciousness, thus effecting the highest trance, (53) force that projects life's duration, (54) origination, (55) duration, (56) decay, (57) extinction, (58) force that imparts meaning to words, (59) force that imparts meaning to sentences, and (60) force that imparts meaning to sounds.

Pure consciousness or mind constitutes one *dharma* (fifth *skandha*, sixth *dharma*). In the division into *dhātu vijñāna* is, as it were, subdivided among seven *dhātus* (no. 6 plus 13-18) where the same consciousness is viewed in relation to the sense-organs and immaterial objects.

Adding all the conditioned *dharmas* together yields eleven material *dharmas*, one *dharma* representing consciousness, forty-six associated *dharmas* and fourteen unassociated *dharmas* — seventy-two in all. These are the *dharmas* into which the whole of phenomenal existence is analyzed and which account for all events that take place within it.

The *Sarvāstivāda* also enumerates three unconditioned *dharmas*: space (*ākāśa*), emancipation through discerning knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*) and emancipation through non-discerning knowledge (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*). Thus the total

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of *dharmas* both conditioned and unconditioned accounts to seventy-five in the *Sarvāstivāda* school.

The *Theravāda* tradition enumerates only one unconditioned *dharma* (*nirvāṇa*) and eighty-one conditioned *dharmas*; four primary elements; four secondary elements; five sense-organs; five sense-objects; two aspects of sex (male and female) heart as the sustaining element of psychic life; two kinds (bodily and vocal) of *avijñāpti-rūpa*; a psychic vitality of matter; space; three properties (agility, elasticity and pliability) of body; three characteristics (origination, duration and decay) of conditioned *dharmas*; material food; fifty-two mental elements, including twenty-five wholesome, fourteen unwholesome, and thirteen morally neutral elements; and consciousness.

The *Sarvāstivāda* asserted that all the conditioned *dharmas* are real (they exist for they happen) and that they have the characteristic of coming into existence, lasting for a short period, and disappearing again in order to reappear in a new karmically determined formation. They also maintained that *dharmas* exist in all three times: past, present and future.

The *Lokottaravāda* school, a *Mahāsaṅghika* sub-sect treated all the conditioned *dharmas* as unreal and hold that only the unconditioned *dharmas* are real. The *Prajñaptivāda* school, another *mahāsaṅghika* group, argued that the twelve *āyatanas* are not real because they are the products of the *skandhas*, which are the real entities.

The *Sautrāntikas* admitted the existence of thought, but rejected the reality of the majority of the associated and all the unassociated *dharmas*, and denied the reality of the past and future, and maintained that only the present exists. They also rejected the existence of the unconditioned *dharmas*, considering them more denominations of absence. The *Mādhyamika* school rejected the ultimate reality of *dharmas* altogether. The *Vijñānavāda* school recognised mind as the only reality (*cittamātra*) and treated the whole of phenomenal existence as its illusive projection. Finally, a well-known Buddhist formula (*yo dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc.) expresses the soteriological aspect associated with the analysis of sentient beings in terms of *dharmas*: "whatever events arise from a cause, the *Tathāgata* has foretold their cause, and the Great Hermit has also explained their cessation".

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FIGURE I
Correspondences among three *Dharma* classifications

The seventy-five *Dharmas* in five Ranks	Five *Skandhas*	Eighteen *Dhātus*
rūpa 11 *dharmas* (including *avijñaptirūpa*)	matter (*rūpa*)	*cakṣur dhātu*
citta : 1 *dharma*		*śrota dhātu*
caitta dharma : 46 *dharmas*	sensation	*ghrāṇa dhātu*
citta-mahābhūmika 18	(*vedanā*)	*jihvā dhatu*
		Kāya dhātu
dharmas including *vedanā* and *saṁjñā*-	perception	*mano dhātu*
kusala-*mahābhūmika* 10 *dharmas*	(*saṁjñā*)	*rūpa dhātu*
kleśa-mahābhūmika : 6 *dharmas*		*śabda dhātu*
akuśala-mahā-bhūmika 2 *dharmas*		*gandha dhātu*
upakleśa-bhūmika 10 *dharmas*		*rasa dhātu*
aniyata: 8 *dharmas*	Volition	*spṛastavya dhātu*
rūpa-citta-viprayukta-	(*saṃskāra*)	*dharma dhātu*
saṃskāra : 14 *dharmas*	(remaining	cakṣur- vijñāna
asaṃskṛta : 3 *dharmas*	*58 dharmas*)	dhātu
	consciounsness	
	(*vijñāna*)	*śrota* -vijñānā dhatu
		ghrāṇa -*vijñānā dhātu*
		jihvā -*vijñānā dhātu*
		kāya -*vijñānā dhātu*
		mano -*vijñānā dhātu*

VINAYA

The term *Vinaya* means putting away, subduing, conversion, training, discipline, a name of a portion of the Buddhist scriptures.[20] R.C. Childers says that *Vinaya* is regarded as the eclesiastical code or common law and it governs the Buddhist monks and it is mentioned in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.[21] He states further that *saṁvarav* and *pahānav* are two sorts of *Vinaya* or discipline and they are discipline of restraint and discipline of getting rid of evil states.[22] He again describes *Vinaya* as "removal (of blame), acquittal".[23]

John C. Holt gives a description of the term *Vinaya*.[24] He says, "*Vinaya* is a Sanskrit and Pāli term aptly translated into English as "disciplinā". Specially, it refers to the prescribed modes of

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conduct incumbent upon Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*) and nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*). The word is formed by combining the prefix vi, — meaning "difference, distinction, apart, away from", with the verb root — *nī*, meaning to lead". When combined they mean "to lead away from". *Vinaya* is the reified noun form of this term and means "that which separates" or "that which removes". Within the context of Buddhist monasticism, it refers to the code of behavioural discipline that at once delineates the life of the householder and that of the monk, and binds the community of monks together into a common affective bond. In this sense, *Vinaya* is that which separates or leads away from the householder's way of life. It can also refer to the practice of mental discipline that removes unhealthy states of mind from the monk's disposition. In either sense of the term, *Vinaya* is regarded as the effective expression or pragmatic, implementation of the Buddha's *dharma* (teaching). It is precept put into practice.

Following the death of the historical Gautama in the fifth century B.C., tradition holds that his monastic followers gathered together at the First Council to organise and canonize his remembered teachings into three collections or "baskets" (*piṭakas*): the *Vinaya*, the *Sutta*, and the *Abhidharma*. While the *Sutta Piṭaka* is more doctrinally and cosmologically oriented, the focus of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is upon proper courses of action conducive to making progress towards the final spiritual attainment of *nirvāṇa*. Although it is evident in early Indian Buddhism that categorical distinctions were made between groups of *bhikṣus* (referred to as *bhāṇakas*) who had committed all or parts of these three texts to memory for the purpose of preserving them through recitation, each "basket" stands in complementary relationship to the other and the whole represents an integrated system of religious teaching. Some scholars and Buddhist apologists have understood *Vinaya* to be the first stage of the spiritual path, an extended code of behavioural discipline elaborates from the basic principles of *śīla* (moral ethical action).

About two-thirds of hundred minor rules of the disciplinary code can be related to the *pañcaśīla*, the ancient fivefold moral maxim shared in common by Brahmanic and heterodox religious groups alike during the time of the Buddha: (1) abstention from the taking of life, especially human life, (2) abstention from sexual misconduct, (3) abstention from taking what is not given, (4)

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abstention from taking intoxicants. This view of *Vinaya* is strengthened by the fact that the first four rules cited above constitute the first and most important class of *Vinaya* regulations, the *pārājikas*, violation of which leads to expulsion from the Buddhist monastic order. The cultivation of *Vinaya*, however, is not limited solely to moral concern and its expression. Its fulfilment is also dependent upon developing mental awareness, activity of mind and wisdom, which are by products of leading a life of meditation (*samādhi*) and knowledge (*prajñā*). While *Vinaya* refers to a code of disciplined behaviour that can be externally observed and monitored, according to the Buddhist theory of *Karman*, external actions are the caused products of qualitative internal volition. At the heart of Buddhist monastic discipline is the notion that mental restraint leads to restrained action. Action stands in direct reflexive relationship to the spiritual state of one's mind.

This theory of discipline and *Karmic* action is thoroughly reflected in the *Sūtravibhaṅga*, the first of the three major divisions that make up all recensions of the *Vinaya piṭaka*. The *Sūtravibhaṅga* sometimes referred to the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, has incorporated what may be the oldest surviving Buddhist text, the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, itself a compendium of disciplinary rules that continues today to be recited ritually by individual *Saṅghas* on the days of every new and full moon. Recitation of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* forms a type of confession of adherence to the disciplinary code. Its recitation may also be the earliest instance of Buddhist ritual life, a possibility that underscores the crucially important role of *Vinaya* in defining the nature of the Buddhist religious vocation.

While the *Prātimokṣa* is essentially a listing of the entire code of disciplinary rules, the *Sūtra vibhaṅga* embroiders the formal proclamation of each percept. This has been accomplished by the inclusion of stories, sometimes of a mythic nature which attempt to provide a context, and warrant for the rule's promulgation. The promulgation is followed by a carefully worded definition and then by a series of hypothetical cases that take into account circumstances that might require refined adjudication. All of these materials are regarded as *buddhavacana* (veritable words of the Buddha) and as a whole form a remarkable blending of myth and legend, formal proclamations of behavioural standards, dictionary

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definitions and casuistry. In each of the introductory tales and also in the following hypothetical cases pertaining to each rules, an errant *bhikṣu* is depicted as succumbing to the persuasions of passion (*rāga*), hatred (*doṣa*) or delusion (*moha*) and consequently acting in a manner deemed improper by the laity, who report the matter of the Buddha; acting as a judge, he in turn lays down the formal rule of discipline. From those "cases", it becomes clear that Buddhist monastic life was and continues to be predicted upon ascertaining the quality of disposition that affects volition to act. Consequently, the successful cultivation of discipline is understood to be a process of mental and spiritual purification whereby the *bhikṣu* is increasingly capable of resisting the power of the *āsravas* (passion, hatred and delusion) to affect his internal volitions. In all cases of adjudication within *Vinaya* literature, a *bhikṣu* or *bhikṣunī* is judged guilty or innocent according to whether or not the action was intentional. Pure intentions, or actions not motivated by the influence of the *āsravas*, which are in turn rooted in an indulgent sense of "I-ness" (*ahaṃkāra*), are the mark of one in whom *Vinaya* has been instilled.

The overriding importance of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* and the *Sūtravibhaṅga* portion of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* in the history of Buddhism as borne out by the fact that the number of nature of the specific disciplinary rules found on the various recensions of the *Vinaya* have remained remarkably consistent among the multitude of Buddhist school in different parts of the Asian continent throughout history. There are no disagreements between the Pāli *Theravāda*, Chinese, *Sarvāstivāda*, *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, *Dharmaguptaka*, *Mahiśāsaka*, and the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinayas* with regard to six of the eight categories of rules constitutive of the disciplinary code (despite the fact that the Chinese recensions were originally written in Sanskrit). The major discrepancies between the lists of disciplinary rules are found in the seventh category of rules known as *saikṣa* (Pali *sekhiya*), which as a whole, are concerned with minor rules of etiquette and compartment. While there is no direct evidence to suggest that any of these recensions of the *Vinaya* text were fixed in writing before the first century B.C., their uncanny similarity suggests at once, a common origin in a period of time preceding the emergence of Buddhist sectarianism and a fundamental unwillingness on behalf of *saṅgha* communities to alter the basic charter of monastic Buddhism.

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However, when alterations, even of a very minor nature, were adopted by specific *saṁghas*, the consequences were such that schisms were provoked. The fourth century B.C. schism between the *Sthaviras* (from whom modern-day *Theravādins* in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand claim descent) and the *Mahāsaṁghikas* (believed by some scholars to be the forerunners of *Mahāyāna*) over rules of a minor nature is a classic case in point. In subsequent periods of Buddhist history, purifications of the *saṁgha* were almost always exacted on the basis of applying *Vinaya* rules to the circumstances at hand. In the history of Sinhala Buddhism, various kings promulgated additional legal documents (*katikāvatas*) to enforce discipline within the *Saṁgha*. Many reform movements in nineteenth and twentieth-century *Theravāda* traditions of South-East Asia were based primarily upon strict adherence and interpretation of *Vinaya*. Historically, it is clear that *Vinaya* has not only been the charter for the Buddhist monastic experience, but has continued to function as a legitimizing device for reform within the *Saṁgha* as well. In this context, it is important to note that just as the laity play an important role within *Sūtravibhaṅga* literature by reporting infractions of discipline to the Buddha, so has the laity in modern times continued to display great interest in insuring that the *saṁgha* adheres to the *Vinaya*. Many laity, like the kings of medieval Sri Lanka have undertaken initiatives to make sure that *Vinaya* remains a primary concern, especially in times when monks have tended to interfere in the secular affairs of society. Lay concern for *Vinaya*, however, is not expressed only for the purpose of keeping monks in their proper places, but also out of the necessity preserving a *saṁgha* than truly function as a spiritual refuge and a worthy object of meritorious action necessary for the positive fruition of karmic efficacy.

Whereas the *Sūtravibhaṅga* is primarily addressed to the disciplined behaviour of the individual *bhikṣu*, the *Skandhaka* (Pāli *Khandhaka*; "chapters") portion of the *Vinaya* is more essentially concerned with the collective acts of the *Saṁgha* (*Vinayadharma* or *Saṁghakarman*). In context and forms this section in *Vinaya*, sometimes called the *Vinayavastu*, differs considerably from the *Sūtravibhaṅga*. Rather than being structured around the rules of discipline *per se*, the *Skandhas* contain diverse materials (some of which are also found in the *Sūtra Piṭaka*) including a biographical account of the Buddha's

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enlightenment and early missionary career, procedures for how the various rites of the community (*prātimokṣa, pavāraṇā, kaṭhina-attharaṇa* etc.) are to be cultically celebrated, how disputes between *bhikṣus* should be settled, how probation should be administered, as well as accounts of the first and second Buddhist councils (in the Pāli recension) amid a variety of other matters pertinent to collective fraternal life. The first *Skandhaka*, of which there are twelve (in the Pāli recension) is perhaps the most significant for, in addition to providing a biographical account of the Buddha and his enlightenment experience (an account written in such a way as to establish the Buddha as the authoritative founder of the *saṁgha* and a paradigm for monastic emulation), the background, procedures, and pre-requisites for the administration of ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) are given. It is in this first "chapter" the Buddha transfers his authority to admit new members into the *Saṁgha* to any previously fully ordained group of *bhikṣus* that must number no fewer than ten in India and no fewer than five in the "border regions".

The delegation of this "Buddhaic" authority set into motion the various traditions of ordination that survive today. In fact, all lines of ordination are traditionally traced back through history ultimately to the Buddha himself. In this process all newly ordained *bhikṣus* are regarded as "sons of the Buddha" and are recognised as such by their lay supporters. Legitimate lines of ordination have been so important in the history of Buddhism that there are many historical instances in which pilgrimages have been made over thousands of miles from Japan to China, from China to India, from Burma and Thailand to Sri Lanka and *vice versa* in order to secure ordination validity and ultimate spiritual descendency from the Buddha. It is in this sense that the *Saṁgha* remains a repository not only of the Buddha's *dharma*, but an heir to his spiritual authority and charisma as well.

The *Skandhaka*, in addition to being a practical procedural manual for the carrying out of *Saṁgha* rituals of maintenance, contains numerous discussion regarding the construction of *āvāsas* (retreats) and *ārāmas* (literally "parks" but here designating as monastic compound) of singular importance to all of these discussions is the concept of *sīmā* (boundary), which has played a crucial role in the history of *Saṁgha* sectarianism. The

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concept of *sīmā* as boundaried space (or sacred space) has been further applied in a variety of contexts and has become as important to the continuation of lines of ordination as the presence of fully ordained *bhikṣus*. Each *nikāya* (school or subdenomination attached to a dominant monastery) must ordain its members in a consecrated space, usually at an auspicious spot in a river or in a lake on a specially constructed platform. The imagery at work in this application of boundaried sacred space literally suggests that upon taking refuge in the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *Saṁgha*, the newly ordained *bhikṣu* has climbed aboard the ferry crossing the ocean of *saṃsāra* to the further share of *nirvāṇa*.

The concept of sacred boundaried space was also employed in the designation of *prātimokṣa sīmās*, where only those who had fully adhered to the rules of discipline during the previous fortnight could enter to declare their purity in conduct and thus their practical realization of *dharma*. *Sīmās* were also set to determine not only the boundaries of monastic compounds but also the vicinities around monasteries, including village temples, from within which all *bhikṣus* shared in the celebration of cultic rites. In short, the *Vinaya* concept of *sīmās* created a sacred geography of Buddhist monasticism designating physical layouts of the land in which certain acts of piety and responsibility were enacted. It is possible that this concept may have contributed to the later development of *Mahāyāna* cosmological beliefs regarding the Pure Land.

The *Parivāra*, the last and the third section of the *Vinaya* is simply a compendium of the *Sūtravibhaṅga* and *Skandhakas*. It includes mnemonic summaries of the various *Vinaya* rules as well as additional commentarial material".

T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede[25] describe that the term *Vinaya* (*vi+nī—vineti*) means driving out, abolishing destruction, removal, rule (in logic), way of saying or judging, sense, terminology, norm of conduct, ethics, morality, good behaviour. They also say that it means codes of ethics, monastic discipline, rule, rules of morality or of canon law.[26] They mantion[27] here that "in this sense applied to large collection of rules which grew up in the monastic life and habits of the *bhikkhus* and which form the ecclesiastical introduction to the '*Dhamma*', the 'Doctrine' or theoretical, philosophical part of the Buddhist canon". They also give here the following verse from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*

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Aṭṭhakathā, p. 19 to refer to the character of the *Vinaya*.[28] "(*Vivida visesa*) *nayattā vinayanato c'sva Kāya-vācānaṇ vinayy'attha-vidūhi ayan vinaya vinayo ti akkhāte*', i.e., "Because it shows the precepts and principles, and govern both deed and word, therefore men call this scripture *Vinaya*, for so is *Vinaya*, interpreted".[29]

The term *Vinaya* is the code of conduct and discipline "that one has to follow in one's cultivation of the Buddhist way".[30] According to Mabel H. Bode,[31] the term *Vinaya* is the monastic code which was handed down by the *Theravādin* sect in Sri Lanka. This sect professed the doctrine (*vāda*) of the *theras* or ancients. It is said that the name was taken by the strictest sect at the time of schisms which occurred, according to tradition, in the second century after the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. G. De gives an account of the term *Vinaya*.[32] He describes that it is the code of discipline which was meant for the Buddhist *Saṁgha*.[33] But he says further that there are evidences on record which inform us that in pre-Buddhistic days the term was used simply as rules of conduct for people in general.[34]

It is to be noted here that in the *Jātakas* the word *Vinaya* was used not in the sense of a code of discipline for the Buddhist *Saṁgha* but it gives the idea that it was introduced in the general sense of rules of conduct for all people, especially of kings. The *Jātaka*[35] mentions that the term *Vinaya* means customs and manners of the people. "*yathā posaṃ na jānati jātiyā "vinayena" vā Na tattha vāsam kayirātha vāsam aññātako jane*". "One should not live among unknown people if he cannot understand their customs and manners from their nationality". (*Jātaka*, 304, III, p. 17). From the *Jātaka* we learn that the term *Vinaya* was used in the sense of discipline for commonfolk. The *Jātaka*[36] says, "*Na ca assa sakā vuddhi vinaye va susikkhite vane andhamahiso va careyya bahuko jano. Yasmā ca pan'idha akacce ācāramhi susikkhitā tasmā vidita-vinayā caranti susamāhitā*" (*Jātaka*, 406, III, p. 368). "He has neither intelligence nor discipline and walks like wild buffaloes of the forest as many people do. But there are some who are well-trained in the *Vinaya* and are looked upon as men of learning and good manners". In the *Jātaka* we get an account of the term *Vinaya* in the sense of 'royal code of observances'.[37] It states, "*ahaṃ khalu mahārāja nāgarāja-r-iva antaraṃ pativuttum na sakkemi na so me vinaya siyā*". (*Jātaka*,

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533, V, p. 351). "Indeed I cannot like the dragon king interrupt my overlord when he is speaking as that would not be my code of discipline". The *Jātaka*[38] then refers to the term *vinaya* in the sense of the law of the land. It describes, "*upasamkamitvā videheṃ vanditvā vinayo rataṃ suvaṇṇavikato pithe ekamantaṃ upāvisī ti*". (*Jātaka*, 544, VI, p. 231). "She sat on the stool embroidered with gold on approaching the king of Videha who was devoted to the law of the land". The *Jātaka*[39] again gives the term *vinaya* which is mentioned here as a code of discipline for the learned people. (*Jātaka*, 480, IV, p. 241). "A wise man understands the logic and does not take it in a wrong sense. If anything is well — said it is well accepted. He knows the *Vinaya* and blissful is his company". In the *Arthaśāstra*[40] the word *Vinaya* is used in the sense of manners which are to be learnt by women. It says, "women of refractive nature shall be taught manners by using such general expressions as "thou half naked; thou fully naked; thou cripple; thou fatherless; thou motherless". "*nagne vinagne nyange pitṛke mātṛke vinagne ityanirdeśena vinayagrahaṇaṃ*". (*Kauṭilya*'s *Arthaśāstra*, tr. by Shamasastry, p. 197).

G. De mentions the place of the *Vinaya* in relation to the *Dhamma*. He says,[41] "In its accepted sense the *vinaya* means the *Vinaya Piṭakaṃ* which is one of the three main *Piṭakas* into which the Pāli Buddhist canon is commonly divided. It treats mainly of the Rules and Regulations promulgated only for the Buddhist monks forming the *Saṅgha* and not for any other people; even the laity given to the worship of Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha* has been completely excluded from the sphere of its operation Rule. . .

Properly speaking, the *Vinaya Piṭakaṃ* may be defined as a collection of rules relating to the outward conduct of the *Saṅgha* only, the laity having been completely left out of its sphere of action. It constitutes the practical *Dhamma* or the code of discipline of the *Bhikkhus*, while the *Sutta* comprising the discourses on the various aspects of the *Dhamma*, constitutes the theoretical side of the Doctrine meant for regulating the inward thoughts of the *Bhikkhus* to be cultivated in strict conjunction with the practical side presented by the *Vinaya*.

Certain sections of the *Vinaya* again are found in the *Dhamma* often occurring in identical words. The reason might be that both of them in their attempt to solve the same problem of deliverance from suffering have had to tread the same path boldly pointed out

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by expressions for which the monks could only use identical words . . .".

From the facts mentioned above we get detailed accounts of the terms *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*. These descriptions throw a flood of light on the definitions of these two terms. Thus we conclude that the term *Dhamma* means doctrine, teaching, law or truth of the Buddha, religious discourse, the Buddhist scriptures and religion, and the term *Vinaya* is the code of conduct, discipline and the ecclesiastical law which governs the Buddhist monks.

Difference between *Sutta Piṭaka* and *Vinaya Piṭaka*

According to R.C. Childers,[42] the term *Sutta* is a string, thread, a portion of the Buddhist scriptures, a rule, aphorism etc. He mentions further that certain chapters or divisions of the Buddhist scriptures are known as *suttas*. They may either be found in verse or in prose and in length they vary from a few lines to several thousands.[43] T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede[44] say that the term *Sutta* (*Vedic Sūtra*) means a thread, string, the part of the Buddhist scriptures which contain *suttas* or dialogues and it is the *Sutta Piṭaka*. They state that it is a rule, clause, dialogue of a Buddhist Text, a discourse, an ancient verse, a book of rules, lore, text-book, a *sutta*, a chapter of the scriptures, and one of the divisions of the scriptures.[45] The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhakathā* explains the meaning of the term *Sutta*. It says, "*atthānan sūcanto suvuttato savanato* 'the *sūdanato suttānā-sutta-subhāgato ca suttaṇ suttan ti akkhātan*".[46] (*Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 19). According to some scholars, *Sutta* or the *Sūtra* is *Buddhavacana* or the word of the Buddha.[47] Some people say that "a *sutta* is complete in itself consisting of a connected narrative or collection of verses on one subject. Some of them are didactic and consist mainly or wholly of a discourse of Buddha in prose or verse as most of the *suttas* of the *Suttanipāta*, others are historical, as the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* which relates the last days of Buddha".[48] Thus the above facts give an account of the definition of the term *Sutta*. From these, we conclude that the term *Sutta* is a rule, a discourse, dialogue of a Buddhist text, a chapter or one of the divisions of the scriptures, whereas the term *Vinaya* means the code of conduct, discipline and the ecclesiastical law which restraints the Buddhist monks.

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Piṭaka Divisions

The Term Piṭaka

According to T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede,[49] the term *Piṭaka* means basket. They say that "for the three main divisions of the Pāli canon 'the three baskets of oral tradition' viz., *Vinaya, Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma*".[50] The *Abhidhānappadipikā*[51] mentions that the *piṭaka* is a basket. The Buddhist scriptures have three great divisions and each of which is known as *piṭakaṁ*, "a basket", and the whole canon is called '*tini piṭakāni* or *tipiṭakaṃ* or *piṭakattayaṁ*', 'the three baskets'. The *Abhidhānappadipikā* describes that *piṭakaṃ* has the meanings *bhājana* and *pariyatti*.[52] M. Winternitz[53] refers to the term *piṭaka* as basket which is a container of tradition. T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede[54] mention that *Piṭaka* is a "later collective appellation of the scriptures". They describe further that the first division of canon, which was based on oral tradition entirely, was into *sutta* and *vinaya*. But of this division there arises the designation "*Dhamma*" which can be applied to the doctrinal portion and then we see the development of the *Abhidhamma*, the third *piṭaka*.[55] B.C. Law[56] describes that the Pāli canonical literature has three *piṭakas*. According to him, the word *Piṭaka* is a basket which contains manuscripts.[57] *Mahāmahopādhaya* Dr. Haraprasad Shastri[58] says that it is an oval shaped cane basket with a pyramidal lid and it was covered with leather. B.C. Law states that its secondary meaning is "traditional handing on".[59] It signifies in the sense of tradition, i.e., "a long line of teachers and pupils handing on, in these three sacred *Piṭakas* or Baskets, from ancient times down to day, the treasures of the *Dhamma* (of the Norms)".[60]

Navaṅga-Satthu-Sāsana

It is to be noted here that before the compilation of the *Tipiṭaka*, i.e., the division of the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature into three *Piṭakas* — the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* which is technically called the *Tipiṭaka*, the Buddhist literature was divided into nine *aṅgas* or parts which became known as *Navaṅga-satthu-sāsana*.[61] This is also called *Navaṅga-buddha-sāsana*,[62] "the nine-fold teaching of the Buddha", i.e., the nine divisions of the Buddhist scriptures took place according to their form and style. They are[63] *Sutta* 'the teaching of the Buddha mostly in prose', *Geyya* 'instruction in

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mixed prose and verse', *veyyākaraṇa* 'expositions, commentaries', *Gāthā* 'verses', *Udāna* 'ecstatic utterances', *Itivuttaka* 'brief sayings', *Jātaka* 'legends of Bodhisattva in his previous births', *Abbhutadhamma* 'description of supernatural power' and *Vedalla* 'message in the form of questions and answers'. It can be mentioned here that this ninefold division is not regarded as the ninefold classification of the literature. It only refers to nine types of composition in the literature. These various forms were found in the Buddhist literature at that time when the Buddhist scriptures were compiled.[64]

D.J. Kalupahana gives an account of '*Navaṅga-satthu-sāsana*'.[65] He says, "The division of the teachings of the Buddha into nine *aṅgas* or limbs dates back to very early times. *Navaṅga-satthu- sāsana* is a term used synonymously with the terms *buddha- vacana, pāvācana* or *dhammavinaya* to denote the teachings of the Buddha collectively (*Majjhimanikāya*, P.T.S., I, 133; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, II, 183). While speaking about the methods by which the *Dhamma* was learnt by the people and their purpose in doing so, the Buddha himself is stated as describing the *Dhamma* as consisting of the nine limbs (*aṅga*) (*Majjhimanikāya*, I, 133). A person who possesses great learning (*bahusuta*) is said to be one who has heard much (*bahukaṃ sutaṃ*) of the ninefold division of the teaching (*Aṅguttaranikāya*, II, 7). In making a distinction between study and insight, the Buddha says that a man who is conversant with the *dhamma* consisting of nine divisions but who lacks any insight into the Four Noble Truths can be compared to a rain-cloud (*valāhaka*) which, only thunders (*gajjitā*) but does not rain (no *vassitā*) (*Ibid.*, II, 103). These and other instances would reveal the fact that, at very early stage, the word of the Buddha which was committed to memory by his disciples was denoted by the term *navaṅga-satthu-sāsana*.

The nine limbs (*aṅga*) are given in following order: *sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma* and *vedalla*. This classification of the *buddhavacana* is a mere description of literary types and not a division of textual compartment (*University of Ceylon Review*, xvii, p. 11). It does not refer to nine different groups of literature but to nine types of composition to be found in the collections of the ancient Buddhists. In a single *sutta* or *suttanta* there may be portions which can be described as a *sutta, geyya, gāthā, udāna,*

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veyyākaṇa, *abbhutadhamma*, or *jātaka* (*Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta: Dīghanikāya*, II, pp. 72 ff). This seems to have been overlooked by F.L. Woodward when he says that "this list of works of a far later data is obviously inserted by the compilers" (*Gradual Sayings*, I, 185, f.n. I). On the other hand, we see here a very old tradition, going back to the time of the Buddha, with regard to the classification of the *buddhavacana*, meaning or sense of which had gone into obscurity at the time of constitution of the canon in its present form.

The difficulty seems to lie in the attempt to include within these nine categories the various texts of the canon as they have come down to us, some of which are compositions of a later date. Even the great commentator Buddhaghosa seems to have met with the same difficulty in his attempt to do so. The explanations of *navaṅga* as given by Buddhaghosa show his difficulty in discriminating any particular section of the canon as corresponding to the *navaṅga*. It is interesting to note in his exposition that for two of the nine *aṅgas*, viz., *vedalla* and *abbhutadhamma*, he could not find any work or group of works which could be classified under these headings and so he named some *suttas* as coming under them (*Majjhimanikāya*, I, 292, 299: *Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28). This is because by the time Buddhaghosa began to record the *Theravāda* commentarial tradition, the real significance of the early *navaṅga* classification, whose existence is echoed even in the very words of the *Tathāgata* (*Majjhimanikāya*, I, 133; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, II, 103), was lost (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, II). This fact becomes clearer when we consider the attempts of the Sanskrit School of Buddhism to accommodate within their classification the works belonging to those schools, which are manifestly of a late date. They were hard put to it to find places in this classification for their new compositions. Hence with the intention of giving canonical antiquity and authority to their texts they added three more items: *nidāna*, *avadāna* and *upadeśa*, to the ninefold division, making a total of twelve (*dvādasa dharmapravaracana*) (*Abhidharma Samuccaya*, p. 78; *Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto, 88, XIII, p. 97).

(1) Sutta (prose): According to Buddhaghosa, all the works of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, including even the *Parivāra* (the last work added to the canon, and probably the work of a Ceylonese monk)

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(B.C. Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, Vol. I, p. 78), four *suttas* from the *suttanipāta*, viz., the *Mahāmaṅgala*, *Ratana*, *Nālaka* and *Tuvaṭaka*, and those other sayings of the *Tathāgata* bearing the name '*sutta*' should be included under the category (*Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 28). While the better known *suttas* of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* find no mention here, four *suttas* from the *Suttanipāta* are cited. The four *suttas* specifically mentioned are verse compositions; hence they should strictly speaking, have been included under *gāthā*. This fact supports the view that Buddhaghosa was attempting to include within these categories the works contained in the canon which were known to him at the time. On the other hand, the explanation of *sutta* (*sūtra*) given by the Sanskrit schools of Buddhism seems to preserve the original sense denoted by the term. According to them, it denotes the word of the Buddha in prose (*gadyabhāṣita*) which could be easily understood by the listeners (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78). This appears to be the correct view, for *sutta* is placed side by side with *geyya* (mixed prose and verse) and *gāthā* (verse). The explanation given in the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 19) seems to tally with this, but it does not specifically refer to *sutta* as discourses in prose.

(2) *Geyya* (mixed prose and verse): The explanations given to the term *Geyya* by Buddhaghosa and the Sanskrit tradition appear to be similar. *Suttas* containing stanzas, particularly like the entire *Sagātha Vagga* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, I, i ff), are called *geyya* by Buddhaghosa. The Sanskrit tradition, too, holds that it is a type of composition where the prose (*sūtra*) is punctuated in the middle (*madhye*) or in the end (*ante*) by stanzas (*gāthāya yad gāyate*) (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78). If, as some scholars are inclined to think (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, 12) the term *geyya* represented the *ākhyāna* type containing stanzas punctuated with prose narrative, which in Pāli came to be versified as for example in the *Pabbajjā* and *Padhāna Sutta* (*Suttanipāta*, pp. 72, 74), then it would appear that the true significance of this term, too, has been lost and one may not be far wrong in designating as *geyya* those lyrics and lyrical ballads found scattered throughout the *Sutta Piṭaka*. But, on the other, if we accept the views of *Buddhaghosa* and also of the Sanskrit tradition, then we can surmise that it denoted prose compositions interspersed with verses.

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(3) *Veyyākaraṇa* (exposition): According to Buddhaghosa, the whole of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* falls into this category (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28). But this is more than doubtful, for the *Abhidhamma* as a separate *Piṭaka*, developed only later. On the other hand, the Sanskrit tradition affords us a clue to unravel the problem. According to this tradition, the expositions of the meanings of the *sūtras* as given by the disciples of yore could be included under *Veyyākaraṇa* (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78). The exposition of doctrines and the expansion of statements the Buddha is said to have made in brief (*saṃkhittons dositaṃ*) are scattered throughout the *nikāyas*. The *Vibhaṅgavagga* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 187-257) contains ten discourses where we come across analyses or enlargements of the brief statements of the Buddha, enlargements by eminent disciples, particularly by *Mahā Kaccāyana* (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 23) at the request of monks and others who had failed to grasp properly the full import of the concise statements. The relative lateness of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and the existence, in abundance, of compositions of the above nature in the *nikāyas*, compel us to accept the tradition of the Sanskrit schools which explains *Veyyākaraṇa* as expositions by learned monks of concise teachings of the Buddha.

(4) *Gāthā* (Verse): Buddhaghosa, quite justifiably, designates the *Dhammapada*, the *Therāgāthā* and the *Therīgāthā* as *gāthā* or verse (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28). But the designation by him of some of the verse compositions of the *Suttanipāta* as *sutta* seems to have prevented him from including them within this category. Hence, he states that those compositions which are purely in verse and "which do not bear the designation *sutta*" (*no suttanāmikā*) could be included herein. Thus there seems to be no clear line of demarcation between *sutta* and *gāthā*, except that prose is excluded from *gāthā* (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, 13).

(5) *Udāna* (solemn utterance): The extent collection of *Udāna*, perhaps unknown during the life-time of the Buddha, and probably finalised centuries later (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, 13), is identified by Buddhaghosa with the *aṅga* bearing the same name (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28). The collection of 82 *suttas* that has come down to us as a separate work called *Udāna*, was the result of an after-thought, of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha, in a certain light for a specific purpose. The *Udāna*

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included in the ninefold division probably refer to some of the inspired sayings found scattered throughout the Pāli canon (*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 171; *Vinaya*, I, i ff). Outside the meagre collection of 82 *suttas* (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, 13), found in the canonical work bearing the name.

(6) *Itivuttaka* (quotations): Here, too, Buddhaghosa makes an attempt to include under this term the collection of 112 *suttas* which came to be finalised centuries later in a single text bearing that name (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28). The quotations from the Buddha's words are found in abundance, often prefixed with the statement "for it has said . . ." and sometimes with no such introduction. These later ones have failed to find a place in the *Itivuttaka* collection that has come down to us (*University of Ceylon Review*, XVII, 13). The Sanskrit tradition seems to distort the term. Here the term *itivuttaka* is given as *itivṛtta* and not *ityukta* as it should be, and then it goes on to say that the life-histories (*vṛtta*) of the disciple (*āryaśrāvaka*) in their past births (*pūrvalaukika*) (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78) are included in this.

(7) *Jātaka* (*birth-story*): The futility of the attmept of Buddhaghosa (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28) to include within this category the extant *Jātaka* collection consisting of 500 stories is evident from the fact that the stories themselves are not given canonical status, such status being reserved for the *Jātaka*-Pāli consisting of stanzas only. There is perfect justification for including in this category the *Jātakas* of canonical antiquity such as those incorporated in *suttantas* like the *Kūtadanta*, *Mahāgovinda* and *Mahāsudassana* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, I, 127, ff; II, 160 ff; 228 ff).

(8) *Abbhutadhamma* (marvellous phenomena): Buddhaghosa is here presented with the difficulty of finding a separate composition to be included in this category. This absence of an individual work among the text of the canon, dealing with wonderful and marvellous phenomena, has enabled him to give correct interpretation of the contents of this *aṅga*. He says that all the *suttantas* connected with wonderful and marvellous phenomena handed down with such words as, "Oh monks, these four wonderful and marvellous qualities are seen in Ānanda", (*Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 145) should be known as *abbhutadhamma* (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 128). The reference here is not to any

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separate *suttanta*, but to a brief statements recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (*Digha Nikāya*, II, 72 ff). What was originally intended by the ninefold division is clearly evident from this.

(9) *Vedalla* (Subtle analysis): Both traditions, the Pāli as well as the Sanskrit fail to give us a clear idea of *Vedalla*. It would seem that at the time of Buddhaghosa the correct interpretation of the word had been forgotten. In his attempt to explain the meaning of the term, Buddhaghosa appears to have been guided by the two *suttas* which bear the same title (*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 292-305). He evidently examined the contents of these two *suttas* and named four more *suttas* from the canon which are similar to these in contents and included them under *Vedalla* (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 28-29). But the explanation given by Buddhaghosa later does not appear to be plausible (*Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 29). On the other hand, the Sanskrit tradition has preserved for us a variant of the term which helps to solve the problem to a certain extent. But of the three variants given in the Sanskrit tradition one is *Vaidalya* (derived from the root dal, i.e., *dṛ* 'to tear') which means subtle analysis (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78). This is supported by the six *suttas*, quoted by Buddhaghosa, which deal with subtle analysis to a much further degree than even in the *Veyyākaraṇa*. This is further supported by the account in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*, which describes the Buddha's skill in the means (*upāyakauśalyatā*) of imparting instruction. Herein it is said that to those who are of low dispositions (*hīnābhiratā*), who are ignorant (*avidvasū*) and to those who have followed no course of duty under many *koṭis* of *Buddhas* (*acīṃa-caryā bahu-buddha-koṭiṣu*) and are bound to continued existence (*saṃsāralagnāḥ*), the Buddha first preached the eight divisions, to wit, *sūtra*, *gāthā*, *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *adbhuta-dharma*, *udāna*, *geya* and *upadeśa* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra*, ed. W. Wagihara and K. Tsuchida, Tokyo, pp. 41-42). To those in the world who have been always pure, wise, good-nature, who had done their duty under many *koṭis* of Buddhas, he made known the amplified *sūtras* (*Vaipulya sūtrāṇi*) (*Ibid.*, pp. 42-43). These are said to be the best of the teachings (*Sāsanaṃ etaṃ agryaṃ*) (*Ibid.*, p. 43). An echo of the true nature of *Vedalla* is to be found in this account. Even the Pāli canon testifies to the fact that deeper doctrines are not given by the Buddha to the ordinary or in the uninitiated people (*Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 261). *Vedalla*, therefore, refers to such subtle analyses

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unintelligible to the ordinary man.

Since this division appeared to be a very important one, the Sanskrit tradition included within it nine of their purest important texts, to wit. *Astasāhaśrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Lalitavistara, Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarnaprabhāsa, Gaṇḍa-vyuha, Tathāgata-guyhaka, Samādhirāja* and *Dasabhūmīśvara* (G.K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, 1923, p. 64), texts which are manifastly of a later date and thus given the canonical authority of antiquity.

(10) *Nidāna* (Introduction): Burnouf (*Introduction de l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, pp. 57-67) explains *niddesa* as consisting of those treatises which show the causes antecedent to events, e.g., how Śākyamuni became a Buddha. The cause was the completion of the *pāramitā* by the *bodhisattva*. Therefore, the treatises or the portions of the treatises describing the completion of *pāramitā* are called *nidāna*. This is supported by the *Nidāna-Kathā* or the introduction of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* of the Pāli tradition. But in the *Mahāyāna* literature as well as in the *Mahāvastu*, *nidāna* signifies the introductory description which sometimes contains as in the case of the *Mahāvastu* (*Mahāvastu*, I, 2, 4), hints of the topics to be dealt with in the treatise. The description of the preparations made by the Buddha, viz., entering into *Samādhi* and putting forth rays of light from the body, the appearance of Buddhas on lotuses, and so forth, before the preaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, is called *nidāna* (*Pañcavimsatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, ed. by N. Dutt, p. 17). In the Tibetan versions of the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtras*, the place where a particular *sūtra* was delivered is referred to as *nidāna* (Laḷou v paper in *Journal Asiatique*, 1928). Considering all those uses of the expression, N. Dutt has come to the conclusion that the *aṅga* (portion) of a treatise which contains the introductory matters should be included under *nidāna* (*Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1930, p. 10).

(11) *Avadāna* (legend): Under this *aṅga* are included all the legends of previous births, whether of a Buddha or any of his disciples or of any prominent figure professing the Buddhist faith, and a very extensive literature has grown under this heading. The Pāli collection also has the *Apadāna* containing almost exclusive accounts of the previous lives of *arahants*.

(12) *Upadeśa* (Instructions): Some scholars tend to include

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under this *anga* the Buddhist *tantras* (Burnouf, *Introduction d l' histoire du Buddhisme indien*, pp. 55-56). As N. Dutt has pointed out (*Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1930, p. 19), there is no justification for doing so, since the Buddhist *tantras* had not come into existence when the term *Upadeśa* came into vogue. These discourses, where instructions on, or expositions of the profound and mysterious *dharmas* (*sarva-gambhīragūḍhadharma-lakṣanānam aviparītam vyākhyānam*) are to be found, are included in this category (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, p. 78). That the term later bore this sense is also apparent from the fact that the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Kārikā* is sometimes called *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa Śāstra* (*Pañcaviṃsatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, ed. N. Dutt, Introduction).

The foregoing discussion would reveal the fact that the real significance of the ninefold and twelvefold divisions was almost lost by the time the later scholiasts attempted to explain them. There is no doubt that the division, at least the ninefold division, is as old as Buddhism itself."

Hirakawa Akira[66] also refers to the term *Navaṅga-buddha-sāsana*. He says that it was very difficult to ascertain the contents of early canons. But there was probably division of the *Dharma* into nine categories or textual genres (*navaṅga-buddha-sāsana*): (1) *Sūtra* (Pāli *sutta*); (2) *geya* (*geyya*); (3) *vyākaraṇa* (*veyyākaraṇa*); (4) *gāthā*; (5) *udāna*; (6) *ityuktaka* or *itivṛttaka* (*itivuttaka*); (7) *jātaka*; (8) *Vaipulya* (*Vedalla*); and (9) *adbhutadharma* (*abbhutadharma*). The *Mahāsaṅghika* and the *Theravāda Vinayas* mention the ninefold classification. This shows that it was introduced before the occurrence of schism in the Buddhist *saṅgha* sometime after the second council. It is to be noted here that the *Sarvāstivāda*, the *Mahīsāsaka* and the *Dharmaguptaka* introduced in their canons three more categories of literature. It became known as *dvādaśāṅga-dharma-pravacana* or the twelve-fold system; Probably these twelve different textual genres took their origin later than the nine-fold classification. Apart from the nine listed above, this twelve-fold system describes stories of edification (*avadāna*), tales about the causes of events (*nidāna*), and commentaries (*upadeśa*). These systems, which have classified the Buddha's teachings according to literary genre, throw flood of light on the organisation of scripture approximately one century after the Buddha's death.

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Hirakawa Akira refers to the second council and the early division of the canon. He says,[67] "Approximately one hundred years after the death of the Buddha, differences in the interpretation of the rules concerning monastic discipline arose between several orders of monks. On one side were the monks of Magadha and Vaiśālī, on the other were the monks of Avanti and the "Southern Road" (*Dakkhināpatha*). As a result of this dispute, involving principally the handling of money given as alms (handling money was forbidden to the monks by the *Vinaya*), a council of seven hundred monks, representing both faction, was convened to determine the orthodoxy of this and other practices allegedly common among the monks of the Vaiśālī faction. In the aftermath of this "Second Council" the Buddhist community, the *Saṁgha*, was divided into opposing camps — the *Sthaviras* (Pāli) *Theravāda* from which derives the *Theravāda* order that flourishes today in South-East Asia or order of the Elders — the *Mahāsaṅghikas*, or order of the Majority. (Some agree that schism in the community took place some time after the second council and was precipitated by other issues altogether). From this point on the text of the two traditions (still not committed to writing) began to diverge, and in the centuries to follow, as further divisions in the community occurred — some precipitated by disagreements on matters of monastic discipline, some on points of doctrine and some reflecting merely geographical diffusion, a variety of 'canons' emerged. It is important to remember that no text remaining to us today predates the original schism in the community; all the extant documents are the product of sectarian redaction.

The contents of these early canon are difficult to ascertain; however we know that the *Dharma* was probably divided into nine categories or textual genres (*navaṅga-buddha — sāsana*) — The nine-fold classification is mentioned in both the *Mahāsaṅghika* and *Theravāda Vinayas*, indicating that it was formulated before the schism.

Some of the schools that later split off from the *Sthaviras*, the *Sarvāstivāda*, the *Mahiśāsaka*, and the *Dharmaguptaka*, for instance, added three more categories of literature to their canons. This twelve-fold system (*dvādaśāṅga-dharma-pravacana*) is probably later than the nine-fold classification; it contains, in addition to the nine listed above, stories of edification (*avadāna*), tales about the causes of events (*nidāna*) and commentaries

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(*upadeśa*). These systems of classifying the Buddha's teachings according to literary genre reflect the organization of scripture approximately one century after the death of the Buddha".

Chronology of the Pāli *Piṭaka* Texts

From T.W. Rhys David's *Buddhist India* (p. 188) we get an account of a chronological table of Buddhist literature from the time of the Buddha to the time of Aśoka, the Maurya ruler. Here is given a description of them:[68]

(1) Several statements of Buddhist documents which are now found in paragraphs or verses in all the books.

(2) There are episodes which are found in two or more of the existing books.

(3) The *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyana*, the *octaves*, the *Pātimokkha*.

(4) The *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*.

(5) The *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Thera Gāthā* and the *Therī Gāthā*, the *Udānas* and the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

(6) The *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*.

(7) The *Jātakas* and the *Dhammapadas*.

(8) The *Niddesa*, the *Itivuttakas*, and the *Paṭisambhidā*.

(9) The *Petavatthu* and the *Vimānavatthu*, the *Apadānas*, the *Cariyā Piṭaka* and the *Buddha Vaṁsa*.

(10) The *Abhidhamma* texts. The *Kathāvatthu* is the last book and the earliest one is the *Puggalapaññatti*.

This list stated above mentions the *Octaves* and the *Pālimokkha* in the third stage in the order of chronology. Its *Octaves* are known as the *Aṭṭhakavagga* which is the Pāli title, and it is the Book of Eights. B.C. Law[69] describes, "The Book of Eights, as we have it in the *Mahāniddesa* or in the fourth book of the *Sutta Nipāta*, is composed of 16 poetical discourses, only four of which share the common title of *Aṭṭhaka*, namely *Guhaṭṭhaka*, *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka*, *Suddhaṭṭhaka* and *Paramaṭṭhaka* and consist each of eight stanzas. That is to say, the four only out of sixteen poems fulfil

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the definition of an *Aṭṭhaka* or octave, while none of the remaining poems consists as it ought be, of eight stanzas. The present *Aṭṭhakavagga* composed of 16 poems may be safely placed anterior to both the *Mahāniddesa* and *Sutta Nipāta*. But before cataloguing it as a compilation prior to the four *nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* texts, it is necessary to ascertain whether the *Aṭṭhakavagga* presupposed by the four *nikāyas* was a book of four poems bearing each the title of *Aṭṭhaka* and consisting each of eight stanzas or it was even in its original form an anthology of 16 poems". Then the *Pātimokkha* is mentioned in the third stage with the *Sīlas* and *Pārāyaṇas*. But we are not quite sure about the existence of the *Pātimokkha* as a bare code of monastic rules at that time. Nothing else is known about its 227 rules or its number which was less than this. Because from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[70] we learn that the earlier code had one hundred fifty rules or little more. According to Buddhaghosa, "*Sādhikaṁ diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasataṁ*" signifies just 150 rules.[71] But some scholars think that the expression indicates the number which was more than one hundred fifty and less than two hundred.[72] B.C. Law[73] states, "If the earlier code presupposed by the *Aṅguttara* passages was composed of rules near about 150 and not even 200, it may be pertinent to ask if the *Pātimokkha*, as we now have it, was the very code that had existed prior to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Our doubt as to the antiquity of the *Pātimokkha* as a bare code of rules is intensified by the tradition recorded by Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (part I, p. 87), that the two codes of the *Pātimokkha* were to be counted among the books that were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council".

The fourth stage mentions the four *nikāyas* and it gives us an idea that they were composed before the *Sutta Nipāta*. Buddhaghosa says that the concluding verses of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which refers to the story of the redistribution of the Buddha's body relics were originally compiled by the rehearsers who took part in the Third Buddhist Council and the Buddhist teachers of Sri Lanka after some time added it. B.C. Law[74] states, "A material objection to putting the *Dīgha* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* in the same category is that in the *Dīgha Nikāya* the story of *Mahāgovinda (Dīgha* II, pp. 220 ff) has assumed the earlier forms of *Jātakas* characterised by the concluding identification of the Buddha, the narrator of the story, with its hero, while in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the story is a

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simple chronicle of seven *purohitas* without the identification". The four *nikāyas* describe many legendary accounts of the life of the Buddha which indicate that these were invented at a later stage when his devotees used to worship him as a superhuman personality. B.C. Law[75] says that "our case is that without discriminating the different strata of literary accretions it will be dangerous to relegate all the four *nikāyas* to the early stage of the Pāli canon".

The *Sutta Nipāta* is included in the fifth stage of the chronology. B.C. Law[76] remarks, "Without disputing that there are numerous instances of archaism in the individual *suttas* or stanzas composing this anthology, we have sufficient reasons to doubt that the anthology as a whole was at all anterior to the *Niddesa* which heads the list of the Pāli canonical texts representing the eighth order. By the *Niddesa* we are to understand two separate exegetical works counted among the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* — (1) the *Mahāniddesa* being a philological commentary on the poems of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (forming the fourth book of the *Sutta Nipāta*), and (2) the *Cullaniddesa* being a similar commentary on the poems of the *Pārāyaṇavagga* (forming the fifth or the last of the *Sutta Nipāta*). The two questions calling for an answer in this connection are, (1) was the *Mahāniddesa* composed, being intended as a commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth book of the *Sutta Nipāta* or on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct anthology ? and (2) was the *Cullaniddesa* composed, being intended as a commentary on the *Pārāyaṇavagga*, the fifth book of the *Sutta Nipāta* or on the *Pārāyaṇavagga*, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct collection of poems ? With regard to the second question it may be pointed out that the poems of the *Pārāyaṇa* group, as these are found in the *Sutta Nipāta*, are prologued by 56 *Vatthugāthās*, while the *Cullaniddesa* is found without these introductory stanzas. The inference, as to the exclusion, is based upon the fact that in the body of the *Cullaniddesa*, there is nowhere any gloss on any of the introductory stanzas. We notice, moreover, that the glosses of the *Cullaniddesa* are not confined to the 16 poems of the *Pārāyaṇavagga*, the scheme of the canonical commentary including an additional *sutta*, namly the *Khaggavisāna*, which now forms the second *sutta* of the first book of the *Sutta Nipāta*. From the place assigned to this particular *sutta* in the *Cullaniddesa*, it

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is evident that when the *Cullaniddesa* was composed, it passed as a detached *sutta*, not belonging to any particular group, such as the *Uragavagga*. The stray nature of the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* may be taken as conclusive also from its mixed Sanskrit version in the *Mahāvastu* (*Senart's edition*, Vol. I, pp. 357-59), in which, too, it is not relegated to any group. If any legitimate hypothesis is to be made keeping the above facts in view it should be that the scheme of anthology in the *Cullaniddesa* rather shows the anthology of the *Sutta Nipāta* yet in the making than presupposing it as a *fait accompli*.

Even with regard to the first question concerning the chronological order of the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Sutta Nipāta*, a similar hypothesis may be entertained without much fear of contradiction. The *Mahāniddesa*, according to its internal evidence, is an exegetical treatise which was modelled on an earlier exegesis attempted by *Mahākaccāna* on one of the *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, namely, the *Māgandiya sutta* (*Cullaniddesa*, pp. 187 ff). The modern exegesis of *Mahākaccāna* forming the cornerstone of the *Mahāniddesa* can be traced as a separate *sutta* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 9 where the sutta commented on by *Mahākaccāna* is expressly counted as a *sutta* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (*Aṭṭhaka-vaggika māgandiya pañha*). Once it is admitted that the *Aṭṭhaka* group of poems had existed as a distinct anthology even before the first redaction of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* and *Mahākaccāna's* model exegesis on one of the *suttas* and, moreover that the *Mahāniddesa* as an exegetical work was entirely based upon that earlier model, it is far safer to think that the *Mahāniddesa* presupposes the *Aṭṭhakavagga* itself as a distinct collection of poems rather than as the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*. Though the scheme of anthology in the *Mahāniddesa* includes only the poems of the *Aṭṭha* group, there is a collateral evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of Pāli canonical literature two stray poems were associated with those of the *Aṭṭhaka* group just in same way that the stray poem, *Khaggavisāna sutta*, has been associated in the *Cullaniddesa* with the poems of the *Pārāyaṇa* group. The *Divyāvadāna*, for instance, mentions that *Pūrṇa*, an associate of *sthavira Mahākātyāyana*, recited the *Munigāthā* and *Sailagāthā* (Cowell and Neft. p. 35) along with the poems of *Arthavagga* (*Pāli Aṭṭhakavagga*) with the implication that the *Munigāthā* (corresponding to Pāli *Munisutta*) and *Sailagāthā* (corresponding to Pāli *Selasutta*), included

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respectively in the *Uragasutta*, the first book, and in the *Mahāvagga*, the third book of the *Sutta Nipāta*, were associated with the poems of the *Aṭṭhaka* group. To put forward another argument the *Nālaka Sutta* in the third book of the *Sutta Nipāta* is prologued by 20 *Vatthugāthās* or introductory stanzas which are absent from its mixed Sanskrit version in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. III, pp. 386 ff, *Nālakaprasna*). Judged by the theme and metre of the *Vatthugāthās*, they stand quite apart from the *sutta* proper. The *sutta* proper is a moral discourse of the Buddha which is quite at par with several *suttas* in the *Sutta Nipāta* and other texts, while in the *Vatthugāthās*, we see all of a sudden a highly poetical composition serving as a historical model to the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosa (Barua's *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, p. 173, f.n.). The *Moneya Sutta* (*Moneyya Sutta*) is one of the seven tracts recommended by King Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict for the constant study of the Buddhists. This *sutta* has been rightly identified by Prof. G.D. Kosambi (*Indian Antiquary*, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 37-40) with the *Nālaka Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* which, as pointed out above, has a counterpart in the *Mahāvastu* (*Mahāvastu, Senart's* edition, Vol. II, pp. 30-43 and Vol. III, pp. 382 ff) where it does not bear any specific title. Judged by its theme, *Moneyya Sutta* is more an appropriate title than *Nālaka*. The importance of its naming as *Nālaka* arises only when the *Vatthugāthās* or the introductory stanzas are prefixed to the *sutta* without any logical connection between the two. Considered in the light of Aśoka's title *Moneyya Sutta* and the counterpart in the *Mahāvastu* as well as of the clear anticipation of *Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita* in the *Vatthugāthās*, it appears that the christening of the *Moneyyasutta* as *Nālaka* and the edition of the introductory stanzas took place sometime after Aśoka's reign and not before. Some stanzas of the *Padhāna Sutta* have been quoted in the *Kathāvatthu* which, according to Buddhist tradition, was a compilation of Aśokan time. The stanzas are quoted without any mention of the *sutta* or of the text on which these have been drawn. The Pāli version of the *sutta* is to be found only in the *Sutta Nipāta*, Book III. The inference that can legitimately be drawn from the quotation is that the *Padhāna Sutta* has existed in some form prior to the compilation of the *Kathāvatthu*, leaving the question of the *Sutta Nipāta* altogether open".

In the fifth order the last book is the *Khuddakapāṭha*. According to the chronological table, the *Suttavibhaṅga*, the

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Khandhakas, the *Jātakas*, the *Dhammapadas*, the *Petavatthu*, the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Kathāvatthu* were composed after the *Khuddakapāṭha*. Buddhaghosa[77] in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* mentions that the *Dighabhāṇaka* list of the Pāli canonical texts does not refer to these four books which are the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Apadāna* and the *Khuddakapāṭha*, but the *Majjhimabhāṇaka* list gives the names of the first three books. It is very probable that owing to sectarian difference of opinion the *Dighabhāṇaka* list has omitted their names, or we can say that these four texts did not exist at the time when the list of the *Dighabhāṇaka* was made.[78] The first short lesson (*saraṇattayam*) of the *Khuddakapāṭha* was a ritualistic formula which is found in a passage of the *Khandhakas*.[79] We can mention the second lesson which is an extract from another passage of the *Khandhakas*.[80] These two facts indicate that the compilation of the *Khandhakas* took place earlier than the *Khuddakapāṭha*. We are not quite sure to mention here that the *Khuddakapāṭha* has taken these passages from the *Khandhakas*. B.C. Law[81] concludes that if we judge the nature of differences in the common passages then we can say something about the relative chronology of the two texts, the priority must be given rather to the *Khandhakas* than to the *Khuddakapāṭha*. The *Tirokuḍḍasutta*, which belongs to the *Khuddakapāṭha*, is the first and is regarded as the most important *sutta* of the *Petavatthu*.[82] The *Kathāvatthu*[83] refers to several quotations and from them we learn that in the third century B.C. this *sutta* was composed by most of the verses. But it is not clear to say anything about the quotations which were from the *Tirokuḍḍa* as an isolated *sutta* or from a *sutta* which belongs to the *Peavatthu* or in the *khuddakapāṭha*. B.C. Law[84] describes that if any conclusion can be drawn from it, then the priority must be given in favour of the *Petavatthu*. The *Kathāvatthu*[85] mentions certain quotations from the *Tirokuḍḍa* and the *Nidhikaṇḍa*, the two *suttas*, which belong to the *Khuddakapāṭha*, but we inform here that neither we can say anything about the date of compilation of the *Kathāvatthu* with these quotations nor we can mention about the actual existence of the *Khuddakapāṭha* at that time. It is very probable that these quotations were mentioned in the *Kathāvatthu* from the two isolated *suttas* when they were not included in the *Khuddakapāṭha*.[86]

The Chronological table mentions the *Abhidhamma* texts in the

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tenth order. The *Abhidhamma* has seven texts. They are *Dhammasaṇgaṇi, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*. According to tradition, Moggaliputta Tissa, the president of the Third Buddhist Council which was held at Pāṭaliputra (Pataliputta), was the author of the *Kathāvatthu* and it was compiled during the reign of the Maurya ruler Aśoka, who patronised this council. Several scholars think that the tradition was proved by a very peculiar dialectical style of composition found in the *Kathāvatthu* and this style was also noticed in several Aśokan inscriptions which are the *Kalsi, Shahabazgarhi* and Mansehrā versions of the 9th Rock Edict.[87] B.C. Law[88] describes, "Another and more convincing piece of evidence may be brought forward to prove the credibility of the tradition. Prior to the despatch of missionaries by Aśoka, Buddhism as a religious movement was confined, more or less, within the territorial limits of what is known in Buddhist literature as the middle Country (*Majjhimadesa*) and the Buddhist tradition in Pāli is very definite on this point. The Sāñcī *stūpas* which go back to the date of Aśoka enshrine the relics of the missionaries who were sent out to the Himālayan tracts as also of the "good man" Mogaliputta, aptly identified by Geiger with Moggaliputta Tissa, the traditional author of the *Kathāvatthu*. Curiously enough, the *Kathāvatthu* contains the account of a controversy (I, 3) in which it has been emphatically pointed out that up till the time of this particular controversy, the Buddhist mode of holy life remained confined to the places within the middle country and had not gained ground in any of the outlying tracts (*paccantimesu janapadesu*), the representatives of Buddhism whether the monks or the laity having had no access to these regions (B.M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 284). The account clearly brings out one important historical fact, merely, that so far as the outlying tracts were concerned, there were undeniably at that time other modes of Indian holy life. It is interesting to find that the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka is in close agreement with the *Kathāvatthu* regarding this point. For in this important edict issued in about the 13th or 14th regnal year of King Aśoka, His sacred and Gracious Majesty the king definitely says that there was at the time no other tract within his empire save and except the Yona region where the different sects of Indian recluses, the *Samaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* were not to be found or where the inhabitants had not adhered to the tenets of one or other of these sects (*Inscriptions of Aśoka* by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 49-50: "*Nathi chā she janapade yati nathi ime nikāyā ānamtā yenesha*

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bamhmane cha shamane chā nathi chā kuvā pi janapadashi (ya) tā nathi manushānaṁ ekatalashi pi pāshadashi no nāma pashāde"). Squaring up the two-fold evidence, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the compilation of the *Kathāvatthu* could not be remote from the reign of Aśoka".

The *Puggalapaññatti* is one of the seven *Abhidhamma* treatises which clearly indicates its emergence from a *sutta* background. The *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* have the *Puggala* classifications and they at once show their *sutta* background. Similarly, the *Majjhima Nikāya* has the *Vibhaṅgas* or *Niddesas* and this indicates the *sutta* background of the *Vibhaṅgas*. It is known that in some parts of the *Dhammasaṅaṇi*, and the *Vibhaṅga* and throughout the *Puggalapaññatti* we find quotations from the *Nikāyas* which are explained in a proper way. These texts, therefore, seem to belong to the early period. Although the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Vibhaṅga* have adopted the method of study found in the middle period, yet the characteristics of the early period are very prominent in these books. It is for these reasons we can say that they belong to the early period. B.C. Law[89] says, ". . . the *Puggalapaññatti* is the least original treatise of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and its inclusion in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* would have been utterly unjustifiable but for the *Paññatti* classifications in the *mātikā*, No. I. Whatever the actual date of its compilation in respect of subject-matter and treatment, it deserves to be considered as the earliest of the *Abhidhamma* books". The *Puggalapaññatti* discusses the *puggala-paññatti*. It is written in the conventional language of the *suttas* and we find most of its contents in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and in the *Saṅgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The *suttas* from the *Nikāyas* are quoted and explained. It is to be noted here that it appears somewhat out of place in the *Abhidhamma*, because it does not use conventional terms like 'individual' (*puggala*) but discusses only ultimates. The *Dhātukathā* and the *Kathāvatthu* are regarded as texts of the middle period. The *Dhātukathā* has adopted the dialectic method of study, involving hundreds of questions and answers which is one of the characteristics of the middle period. Some scholars think that the *Kathāvatthu* belongs to the latest period. As far as the terminology used and the theories set forth are concerned, this book seems to belong to the later period. B.C. Law[90] describes, "Buddhism as a religion had not overstepped the territorial limits of the Middle country. But

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according to Buddhaghosa's commentary, the *Kathāvatthu* contains discussions of doctrines held by some of the Buddhist schools, e.g., the *Hemavata*, the *Uttarāpathaka*, the *Vājiriya*, the *Vetullaka*, the *Andhaka*, the *Pubbaseliya* and the *Aparaseliya* which could not be possible if the *Kathāvatthu* had been closed in the time of Aśoka. If it was a growing compilation, we have necessarily to suppose that although it commenced in Aśokan time, it was not brought to a close till the rise of the later Buddhist schools mentioned above". According to some, the *Paṭṭhāna* is the latest book of all. The *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna* are regarded as late treatises of the *Abhidhamma*.

The *Sutta Piṭaka* comprises the five *nikāyas* which are the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is clear from different texts that the *Sutta Piṭaka* was completed before the *Milinda Pañha* was composed. Because the *Milinda Pañha* refers to many passages from the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It can be mentioned here that the *Sutta Piṭaka* came to close along with the entire Pāli canon and during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya of Sri Lanka the Pāli canon was finally rehearsed in Sri Lanka and was committed to writting.[91] The *Milinda Pañha* mentions reciters or chanters (*bhāṇakas*) of the five *nikāyas*.[92] It describes the *Jātakabhāṇaka*, the *Dīghabhāṇaka*, the *Majjhimabhāṇaka*, the *Saṁyuttabhāṇaka*, the *Aṅguttarabhānaka* and the *Khuddakabhāṇaka*.[93] The Sāñcī and the Bharhut inscriptions which may be dated in the middle of the second century B.C. describe the terms '*pañcanekāyika*' (one well-versed in the five *nikāyas*) and *bhāṇaka* which are mentioned distinctive epithets of some of the Buddhist donors.[94] Prof. Rhys Davids[95] says that before the introduction of the terms *Pañcanekāyika*, *Suttantika* (a man who knows the five *nikāyas* by heart), *Suttantakinī* (a feminine form of the *Suttantika*) and *Peṭaki* (one who knows the *Piṭaka* by heart) as distinctive epithets, the *piṭaka* and the five *nikāya* divisions of the Pāli canon became well-known and well-established. The *Vinaya Cullavagga* (chapter II) mentions the term '*Pāncanikāya*' and we can assign to a period which just preceded the Aśokan age. B.C. Law[96] states, "But even presuming that the five *nikāya* divisions of the growing Buddhist canon were current in the third century B.C., it does not necessarily follow from it that all the books or *suttas* or individual passages comprising the five *nikāyas* were composed at that time. All that we can say "that the first four *nikāyas* were, to all intents and purposes, then complete, while the *Khuddaka Nikāya* series remained still open".

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B.C. Law gives a short history of the *nikāyas*. He describes,[97] "we have pointed out that this account in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* clearly alludes to the *Dīgha* as the first of the five *nikāyas* as well as that the first two *suttas* were the *Brahmajāla* and the *Sāmaññaphala*, while as to the number and succession of the remaining *Suttas*, we are kept completely in the dark. Straining the information supplied in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* we can proceed so far, no doubt, that the first volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya* was mainly in the view of its compilers. Comparing the *suttas* comprised in the remaining two volumes and marking the differences in theme and tone, it seems that these two volumes were later additions. The second volume contains two *suttas*, namely, the *Mahāpadhāna* and the *Mahāgovinda* which have been mentioned in the *Culla-niddesa* (p. 80) as two among the notable illustrations of the *suttanta Jātakas*, the *Jātakas* as found in the earliest forms in Pāli literature. We have already drawn attention to the earlier chronicles of the seven *purohitas* in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* where it is far from being a manipulation in a *Jātaka* form. The casting of this chronicle in a *Jātaka* mould as we find it in the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* could not have taken place in the lifetime of the Buddha. The second volume contains also the *Pāyāsi suttanta*, which, as shown by the previous scholars, brings the story of Pāyāsi to the death of Pāyāsi and his after-life in a gloomy heaven. This *suttanta* contains several anecdotes forming the historical basis of some of the *Jātaka* stories. In the face of all these facts we cannot but agree with Prof. Rhys Davids who places the date of this *suttanta* atleast half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The third volume of the *Dīgha* includes in it the *Āṭanātiya Suttanta* which is otherwise described as a *rakkhā* or saving chant manipulated apparently on a certain passage in the then known as *Mahābhārata* (*Aśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra*, III, 4, 4). The development of these elements, the *Jātaka* stories and the *Parittas*, could not have taken place when Buddhism remained in its pristine purity. These are later accretions or interpretations, the works of fable and fiction, we mean of imaginative poetry that crept, according to a warning given in certain passages of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* under influence from outside. But there is no reason for surprise that such developments had already taken place as early as the fourth century B.C., for the passages that strike the note of alarm are precisely one of those seven important tracts recommended by Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict under the

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caption '*Anāgata-bhayāni* '. The growth of these foreign elements must have caused some sort of confusion otherwise it would not have been necessary to discuss in a *Sutta* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* the reasonable way of keeping genuine the utterance of the Buddha distinct from others that crept in under the outside influence and were characterised by poetical fancies and embellishments (*kavikatā*) (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, pt. II, p. 267). We may, then be justified in assigning the whole of the *Dīgha Nikāya* to a pre-Aśokan age, there being no trace of any historical event or development which might have happened after King Aśoka. The only exception that one has to make is in the case of the concluding verses of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* which were interpolated, according to Buddhaghosa, in Ceylon by the teachers of that island. Like the first volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the whole of the *Majjhima Nikāya* strikes us as the most authoritative and original among the collections of the Buddha's teachings. There is no allusion to any political event to justify us in relegating the date of its compilation to a time far removed from the demise of the Buddha. If it be argued that the story of *Makhādava*, as we find it embodied in the *Makhādeva Sutta* of this *nikāya*, has already assumed the form of a *Jātaka*, of a *suttanta Jātaka* mentioned in the *Cullaniddesa*, it cannot follow from it that the *nikāya* is for that very reason a much later compilation. For the *Makhādeva* story is one of those few earliest *Jātakas* presupposed by the Pāli canonical collection of 500 *Jātakas*. The literary developments as may be traced in the *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* are not of such a kind as to require more than a century after the demise of the Buddha.

Now concerning the *Saṁyutta* which is a collection of kindred sayings and the third of the five *nikāyas*, we may point out that it has been quoted by name in the *Milinda Pañha*, as also in the *Peṭakopadesa* under the simple title of *Saṁyuttaka*, and that as such this *nikāya* had existed as an authoritative book of the Pāli canon previous to the composition of both the *Milinda Pañha* and the *Peṭakopadesa*. We can go so far as to maintain that the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* had reached its final shape previous to the occurrence of *Pañcanekāyika* as a personal epithet in some of the Bharhut and Sāñcī inscriptions, nay, even before the closing of the *Vinaya Cullavagga* when we meet with the expression "*Pañcanikāya*". In dealing with the account of the Second Buddhist Council in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* (ch. XIII), we have

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noted that a canonical authority has been alluded to as *Rājagaha uposatha Saṁyutto* "at Rājagaha in the *Uposatha-Saṁyutta*". The translators of the *Vinaya texts* (pt. III, p. 410) observe that the term "*Saṁyutta* must here be used for *Khandhaka*", the passage referred to being the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (II, 8, 3, the *Uposatha Khandhaka*). But looking into the *Mahāvagga* passage, we find that it does not fully tally with the allusion, as the passage has nothing to do with Rājagaha. In the absence of Rājagaha giving a true clue to the tracing of the intended passage, it is difficult to premise that the passage which the compilers of the *Cullavagga* account kept in view was the *Khandhaka* passage in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*. Although we have so far failed to trace this passage also in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the presumption ought to be that the intended passage was included in a *Saṁyutta* Collection which was then known to the compilers of the *Cullavagga*. The *suttas* in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* do not refer to any political incident justifying one to place the date of its compilation far beyond the demise of the Buddha. As contrasted with the *Ekuttara* or *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the *Saṁyutta* appears to be the result of an attempt to put together relevant passages throwing light on the topics of deeper doctrinal importance while the former appears to be numerical groupings of relevant passages throwing light on the topics relating to the conduct of the monks and householders. Considered in this light, these two *nikāyas* must be regarded as fruits of a critical study of *suttas* in some previous collections.

Now coming to deal with the *Ekuttara* or *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, we have sought to show that its main bearing is on the two-fold *Vinaya*, the *Gahapati Vinaya* and the *Bhikhu Vinaya*. This *nikāya* contains a section (*Muṇḍarājavagga* in the *Pañcaka Nipāta*) commemorating the name of King Muṇḍa who reigned, as shown by Rhys Davids, in Rājagaha about half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The *nikāya* containing a clear reference to *Muṇḍarāja* cannot be regarded as a compilation made within the fifty years from the Buddha's demise. There is, however, no other historical reference to carry the date of its compilation beyond the first century from the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. The date proposed for the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* will not, we think, appear unreasonable if it be admitted that the *suttas* of this *nikāya* from the real historical background of the contents of the *Vinaya* texts.

We have at last to discuss the chronology of the fifteen books

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of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, which are generally mentioned in the following order :

1. *Khuddakapāṭha*,
2. *Dhammapada*,
3. *Udāna*,
4. *Itivuttaka*,
5. *Sutta Nipāta*,
6. *Vimānavatthu*,
7. *Petavatthu*,
8. *Theragāthā*,
9. *Therīgāthā*,
10. *Jātaka*,
11. *Niddesa* (*Culla and Mahā*)
12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*,
13. *Apadāna*,
14. *Buddhavaṃsa*,
15. *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

This mode of enumeration of fifteen books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*paṇṇarasabheda khuddakonikāya*) can be traced back to the days of Buddhaghosa (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. I, p. 17). It is obvious that in this list the *Cullaniddesa* and the *Mahāniddesa* are counted as one book; while counting them as two books, the total number become sixteen. There is no justification for regarding the order of enumeration as being the order of chronology. In connection with the *Khuddeka Nikāya*, Buddhaghosa mentions the following fact of great historical importance. He says that the *Dīghabhāṇakas* classified the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* under the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* enumerating them in the following order :

1. *Jātaka*,
2. *Mahāniddesa*,
3. *Cullaniddesa*,
4. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*,
5. *Sutta Nipāta*,
6. *Dhammapada*,
7. *Udāna*,
8. *Itivuttaka*,
9. *Vimānavatthu*,
10. *Petavatthu*,
11. *Therīgāthā*.

and leaving out of consideration the four books, namely, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Apadāna*, the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*. Buddhaghosa informs us that the *Majjhimabhāṇaka* list fifteen contained the names of fifteen books, counting the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Apadāna*, and the *Buddhavaṃsa* as the three books in addition to those recognised by the *Dīghabhāṇakas* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. I, p. 15). It is important to note that the *Majjhimabhāṇaka* list has taken no cognizance of the

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Khuddakapāṭha mentioned as the first book in Buddhaghosa's own list. It is now difficult to surmise that when the *Dīghabhāṇaka* list was drawn up, the *Khuddakanikāya* comprised just 12 books and when the *Majjhima Nikāya* list was made, it came to comprise altogether 15 books, the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa* having been counted as two books instead of as one. It is also easy to understand that from that time onward the traditional total of the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* became known as fifteen, and so strong was this tradition that, to harmonise with it the sixteen books had to be somehow counted as fifteen, the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa* being treated as a single book. From this we may proceed to show that the *Khuddakapāṭha* appearing as the first book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in Buddhaghosa's list is really the last book taken into the *Khuddaka Nikāya* sometime after the *Majjhimabhāṇaka* list recognising fifteen books in all had been closed. We need not be surprised if the *Khuddakapāṭha* was a compilation made in Ceylon and was given a place among the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* either immediately before the commitment of the Pāli canon to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi or even after that, although before the time of Buddhaghosa. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa are our oldest authorities that mention the *Khuddakapāṭha* as a canonical book. It does not find mention in the *Milinda Pañha* nor in any other work, canonical or ex-canonical, which was extant before the time of Buddhaghosa. The text is made up of nine lessons or short reading all called from certain earlier canonical sources, the arrangement of these lessons being such as to make it serve as a very useful handbook for the beginners and for the clergy ministering to the needs of the laity. The consideration of two points may suffice to bear out our contention: the first point is that the first lesson called the *Saraṇattara* presents a developed mode of refuge formula of the *Buddhists* which is note to be found precisely in this form anywhere in other portions of the Pāli canon. As for the second point we may note that the third lesson called the *Dvattiṁsākāra* (the thirty-two parts of the body) enumerates *matthake matthaluṅgaṁ* which is note to be found in the list furnished in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and numerous other discourses".

The *Majjhimabhāṇakas* mention the *Buddhavaṁsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Apadāna* but there is no reference to these

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books in the list of the *Dīghabhāṇaka*.[98] It is very probable that these three books were composed and were taken into the canon after the list was made with twelve books. From these three books we learn that the *Buddhavaṃsa* deals with the doctrine of *praṇidhāna* as an essential condition of the *Bodhisattva* life. It gives us an account of the twenty-four previous Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha during the last twelve ages of the world. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* discusses the doctrine of *cariyā* or practice, of a *Bodhisattva*. It narrates how the *Bodhisattva* attained perfection in the *pāramitās* in this various previous existences. It is a work of post-Aśokan period. The *Apadāna* throws light on the doctrine of *adhikāra* or competence for the attainment of higher life. It describes the pious deeds of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Not like the *Jātakas*, the *Apadāna* contains noble deeds of not only Gautama Buddha and *pacceka* Buddhas, but also other distinguished monks and nuns. It is regarded as one of the latest books of the canon. From the subject-matter of these three books, it is clear that they are interconnected, and have close connection with each other. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* give a systematic account of the *Bodhisattva* idea which was forming itself through the earlier *Jātakas* and the *Apadāna* presents the previous birth stories of the *theras* and the *therīs* which "cannot but be regarded as a later supplement to the *Thera- Therī-gāthā*".[99] The *Vimānavatthu* is another canonical work which gives a description of heaven, and deals with the account of *Serissaka*. The story itself says that, according to human competition, the incident occurred a hundred years from the death of Pāyāsi who was a chieftain.[100] The *Pāyāsi Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* informs us that Pāyāsi's death was not occurred 'until a few years' after the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. Thus, from this we can place the date of the composition of this text to a period which was practically ahead of a century and a half from the Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāna*.[101] This work was canonised not before the Third Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of Aśoka.[102] The *Petavatthu* deals with stories of hell. There are certain common stories in the *Vimānavatthu* as well as in the *Petavatthu*. From this several scholars conclude that the *Petavatthu* was a branch of the *Vimānavatthu*.[103]

The *Cullaniddesa* is mentioned as a canonical commentary on the *Khaggavisāṇa sutta* and the *Pārāyaṇa* group of the sixteen

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poems which are included in the anthology of the *Sutta Nipāta*. It is to be noted here that the *Cullaniddesa* refers to a stage of development of the Pāli canon when the *Khaggavisānasutta* as an isolated poem took its place on the *Pārāyaṇavagga* and was not included in any group of the *Sutta Nipāta*.[104] From this it is clear that the *Cullaniddesa* was earlier than the *Sutta Nipāta*.[105] We can also say that not only it was composed before the *Mahāpadāniya*, *Mahāgovinda*, *Mahāsudassanīya* and the *Maghādeva Suttantas* of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* but also before the collection of 500 *Jātakas* (*Pañcajātakasotāni*, *Cullaniddesa*, p. 80).[106] Thus we cannot mention the date of composition of the *Cullaniddesa* to an age which was earlier than the reign of the Maurya ruler Aśoka. The *Mahāniddesa* is also a canonical commentary on the *Aṭṭhaka* group of sixteen poems.[107] This group is mentioned as the fourth book of the *Sutta Nipāta*. If this commentary took its shape when the *Aṭṭhakavagga* as an isolated group was yet current, then its date of composition cannot but be anterior to the date of composition of the *Sutta Nipāta*.[108] The *Mahāniddesa* mentions a period when the Indian merchants used to proceed on a sea-borne trade with various countries far away from India and they used to take a sea-route which was from Tamali or Tamralipti to Java via Tambapaṇṇi or Sri Lanka and the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien took this route in the fifth century A.D.[109] The *Milinda Pañha* which is dated in the first or second century A.D. refers to this list.[110] The *Mahāniddesa*[111] gives an account of India's maritime trade and from this list we conclude that it was impossible to think that the book was composed much earlier than the second century B.C.

According to several scholars,[112] the *Sutta Nipāta* was composed later than the two books of the *Niddesa*. They say further, that when it was composed the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyaṇavagga* became known as two distinct books of a comprehensive anthology and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* was not considered as a stray poem which was hanging for its existence on the *Pārāyaṇa* group.[113] In the *Pārāyaṇavagga* in the *Sutta Nipāta* there is a preface with a prologue but there is no reference to it in the *Cullaniddesa*.[114] The *Sutta Nipāta* scheme of anthology does not seem to have come into existence before the second century B.C.[115]

The *Jātakas* belong to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The *Cullaniddesa* mentions 500 *Jātakas*. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, found the

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500 *Jātaka* representations in the Abhayagiri monastery of Sri Lanka. "That five hundred was the original total of the *Jātakas* is proved on the one hand by the 500 *Jātaka* representations witnessed by Fa-hien round the Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and on the other hand by the mechanical multiplication of the stories in order to raise the total from 500 to 550 from the days of Buddhaghosa".[116] Several illustrations of the *Jātakas* on the Bharhut and Bodhgaya railings[117] clearly indicate the existence of the legendary stories relating to the Buddha's past and present life. The *Cullaniddesa* refers to the canonical collection of 500 *Jātakas* and this collection was earlier than the scriptural basis of the Buddhist scriptures. B.C. Law[118] says that "Whatever the actual date of composition might be, it was certainly later than that of the *suttanta Jātakas* scattered throughout the first four *nikāyas*. We may say indeed that the canonical collection took a definite shape near about the early Maurya period".

From Oldenberg's[119] account we learn that the *theras* and the *Therīs*, who, surrounded the Buddha during the life-time of the master or atleast shortly after his death, uttered the stanzas of *Thera- Therī-gāthā*. "The separate *Uddānas* or indices which occur regularly at the end of each *nipāta* and at the end also of the whole work, and give the names and numbers of the *theras* (and the *therīs*) and the number of verses in each chapter and in the whole work respectively, seem to be based on a recension or condition of the text different from that which now lies before us".[120] Dhammapāla, the commentator,[121] thinks that the *Theragāthā* anthology was able to reach its final shape not earlier than the time of Aśoka, the Maurya ruler. He says that the Thera Tokicchakāri used to live in the reign of King Bimbisāra and his *gāthās* were included in the *Theragāthā*. He describes further that the *theras* who took part in the Third Buddhist Council accepted the verses which were uttered by the Thera Tokicchakāri and these verses were included in the canon. Thus from *Dhammapāla*'s account we conclude that the anthologies of the *Thera- Therī-gāthā* must be accepted as compilations which took their final shape most probably at the Third Buddhist Council.[122]

The *Milinda Pañha*[123], which belongs to the first or second century A.D. refers to the Pāli *Dhammapada*. From a tradition we learn that in order to attract the attention of King Aśoka to Buddhism, a discourse which was based on the *Appamādavagga*

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of the *Dhammapada* was served to him.[124] This clearly indicates that *Dhammapada* existed even in the third century B.C.[125]

The *Itivuttaka*[126] deals with questions of sayings of the Buddha. The *Udāna*[127] can be mentioned as a legendary account and it is full of historical records. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga*[128] discusses some knotty problems of Buddhism. It mentions a systematic exposition of various topics in the form of questions and answers after the manner of the *Abhidhamma* treatises. It has been included in the *Sutta Piṭaka* owing to its form being that of the *suttas* and further the traditional opening "*evaṁ me sutaṁ*" ("thus have I heard") — and the address 'Oh monk' are often to be found. It is to be noted here that before the development of *Abhidhammapiṭaka* the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was regarded as one of the treatises of the *Abhidhamma*.[129] In the list of the *Dīghabhāṇakas* there is a reference to these three books — the *Itivuttaka*, the *Udāna* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* among the twelve books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and from this we conclude that when the list was made in the second century B.C. there is a possibility of existence of these three books.[130]

B.C. Law gives the chronological table of the Pāli canonical literature. He describes,[131]

(1) The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical works in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.

(2) Episodes found in identical works in two or more of the existing books.

(3) The *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyaṇa* group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the *Aṭṭhaka* group of four or sixteen poems, the *Sikkhāpadas*.

(4) The *Dīgha*, Vol. I, the *Majjhima*, the *Saṁyutta*, the *Aṅguttara* and earlier *Pātimokkha* code of 152 rules.

(5) The *Dīgha*, Vol. II, and III, the *Thera- Therī-gāthā*, the collection of 500 *Jātakas*, the *Suttavibhaṅga*, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the *Puggalapaññatti* and the *Vibhaṅga*.

(6) The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, the *Pātimokkha* code

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completing 227 rules, the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*, the *Dhammapada* and the *Kathāvatthu*.

(7) The *Cullaniddesa*, the *Mahāniddesa*, the *Udāna*, the *Itivuttaka*, the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Dhātukathā*, the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna*.

(8) The *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Apadāna*.

(9) The *Parivārapāṭha*, and

(10) The *Khuddakapāṭha*".

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
8. *PED*, p. 335.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 337.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *ER*, vol. IV, pp. 332-38.
19. When the *āyatanas* are enumerated as *dhātus* they are termed *caksur-dhātu*, *śrotra-dhātu*.
20. *DPL*, p. 575.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *ER*, 15, pp. 265 ff.
25. *PED*, p. 623.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
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30. *CHI*, V, p. 731.
31. *PLB*, p. 5.
32. *DEBS*, p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.
42. *DPL*, p. 491.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *PED.*, p. 718.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *CHI*, V, p. 731.
48. *HPL*, I, p. 81, f.n. 2; *DPL*, p. 491.
49. *PED*, p. 457.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Abhidhānappadipikā*, p. 524; *DPL*, p. 506.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 990; *ibid.*, p. 506.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 457; *HIL*, II, p. 8.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 457.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *HPL.*, I, p. 43.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 43; BS, p. 846.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
60. *HLB*, p. 37.
61. *BIA*, p. 121.
62. *PED*, p. 348.
63. *BIA*, p. 121; *PED*; p. 348.
64. *HIL*, II, pp. 9 ff.
65. *EB, Fascicle Acala-Ākaṅkheyya Sutta*, pp. 616 ff.
66. *ER*, 2, pp. 504-14.
67. *ER*, 2, p. 511.
68. *HPL*, I, p. 1.
69. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1-2.
70. *Ibid.*, I, p. 2; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 232: "*Sādhikaṁ diyaḍḍha-sikkhāpadasataṁ*".

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71. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 3 ff.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*, p. 8; *OBI*, p. 234.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*, p. 28; *BI*, pp. 9-10.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 28; *Milinda Pañha*, pp. 341 ff.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 28 ff.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*

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112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Ibid.*
119. *Ibid.*, p. 39; Oldenberg's *Theragāthā*, Preface, xi.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40; *ibid.*, p. xiv.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*
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3

The *Sutta Piṭaka* Texts

IN ancient India recitation and memorization were regarded as the only means for the preservation of records. From the *Vedic* records it is known that this practice was followed in India in the early *Vedic* period. Through a succession of teachers (*ācariya-paramparā*) the Buddha's speeches, sayings, discourses and conversation were handed down orally. It is to be noted here that at that time nobody took serious notice to preserve his actual words properly. It is known from the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* that the Buddha himself told his disciples that there was a possibility of misrepresentation of his speeches and for this reason he gave them a talk and wanted to verify his words in four ways. He feared that his sayings might be misrepresented and for this reason he warned them to be careful in this matter. After his *Mahāparinibbāna* they realised that his prophesy came true and they faced various difficulties in the *Saṁgha*. Subhadda, who, in his old age, joined the *Saṁgha*, became happy at the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. Now there would be none to abuse the monks for non-observance of the monastic rules and they would follow their ways according to their own will. They would be able to do what they would like. The older monks were alarmed to hear his words and they thought that his talks might disturb the peaceful atmosphere of the *Saṁgha*. For this reason a council was convened to discuss Subhadda's speeches. In the history of Buddhism this council became known as the First Buddhist Council. In this council the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were settled. At that time there was no separate existence of the *Abhidhamma*. It was then regarded as the part of the *Dhamma*. It is to be noted here that the traditional teachings of the Buddha were then collected under the two principal divisions which were

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then known as the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. Then the second council was held after a hundred years and this council discussed the rules of morality as well as the violation of the *Vinaya* rules. There was no mention of the *Abhidhamma* in this council. Then the Third Buddhist Council was held about more than two hundred years after the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. In this council the *Abhidhamma* was established in the Buddhist world as its separate existence and it was regarded as a part of the canon. This council not only rehearsed but also settled the texts of the *sutta* and the *Vinaya*. In this council the Buddhist scriptures became known for their three divisions which were the *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*. Before this council the Buddhist scriptures had two divisions which were the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*, and it saw the division of the *Dhamma* into two parts which were the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The Third Buddhist Council had its importance in the Buddhist world. Because in this council the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature appeared in its three divisions which are known as the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. But the Buddhists themselves place the *Vinaya Piṭaka* at the head of the canon,[1] and they arrange the *Tipiṭaka* in this way: the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Before the compilation of the *Tipiṭaka* we find the division of the Buddhist literature into nine *aṅgas* or limbs which were technically known as *Navaṅga-satthusasāna*.

R.C. Childers gives an account of the *Tipiṭaka*. He says,[2] "The Buddhist Scriptures are called *Tripiṭaka*," "The three Baskets or Treasuries, and are divided into *Vinaya*, *Sūtta* and *Abhidhamma*, or discipline, Doctrines and Metaphysics." The *Vinaya Piṭaka* contains the laws and regulations of the Buddhist priesthood, and forms a great code of monastic discipline; besides, it is rich in history and folklore and contributes innumerable details of the life and ministry of Gautama. The *Sutta Piṭaka* consists chiefly of sermons preached by Gautama and in some instances by his apostles (the *Saṅgīti Sūtra* was preached by Sāriputta), but it also contains the matter, as the *Jātaka* tales, the *Niddesa* attributed to the apostle Sāriputra and Theragāthā, a collection of stanzas uttered on different occasions by eminent saints. In the *Abhidhamma* we find metaphysics pressed into the service of religion; it introduces no new dogma, but discusses the various doctrines of Buddhism from a metaphysical point of view,

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employing a terminology of great wealth and precision. The Three Baskets form a canon of Holy Writ, and are invested by the Buddhists with all the sanctity of a canon. They are reverenced as containing the word of Buddha, and are the ultimate appeal on all questions of belief and conduct. Owing to their great extent, estimated at eleven times, that of our own Bible, they are able to treat in great details all the relations of life and the doctrine they contain is consistent throughout and set forth with clarity and logical accuracy.

Upon the important question of the origin of the Buddhist canon much has been written, and the most conflicting opinions have been expressed. The time has hardly come for dogmatising on this subject, but the tendency of all recent discoveries is to confirm the Buddhist traditions, which assign to the canon a venerable antiquity. The *Tripiṭaka* bears every mark of recension, and according to the Buddhist historians this recension dates from the 3rd General Council of Buddhism, held under the Emperor Aśoka in the 309 B.C. But even this is said to be a mere revival of the first recension which was made in B.C. 543, just after Gautama's death, when his words were fresh in the hearts and memories of his apostles. These high pretensions have drawn, as was inevitable, the ridicule of many Western scholars, more than one of whom has held the Buddhist sacred books to be late compilations, scarcely even reflecting the teaching of Gautama. But the question has been placed on an entirely different footing since the discovery last year by General Cunningham of the Bharhut Sculptures. These sculptures, which belong to the third century B.C., are illustrations in bas-relief of a great number of Buddhist scriptural subjects, and are accompanied by inscriptions in the Aśokan character. Both illustrations and inscriptions are, as far as they have been identified, in perfect accord with the Buddhist scriptures as we now have them, and in one instance a whole sentence, containing a remarkable expression, which is probably a . . . is quoted from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*".

It should be mentioned here that the Buddhist literature of the Hīnayānists or the Tharavādins was in Pāli, and Pāli *Piṭaka* of the Theravādins was known as the earliest and most complete selection of the Buddhist literature. Like the Theravādins, the Sarvāstivādins had their canonical literature but it was in mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit. The *Sammitīyas* had their

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canonical literature in Apabhramśa had the canonical literature of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* was in Prākrit. The *Mahāsaṅghikas* had five divisions of their canonical literature and they were *Sutta, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Prakirnaka* and *Dhāraṇi.*

Structure and Organization

The *Sutta Piṭaka* or "the Basket of Discourses" or "Treasures of *suttas*" is mentioned as an important source for the doctrine of the Buddha and his earliest disciples.[3] M. Winternitz[4] remarks, "Just as the *Vinayapiṭaka* is our best source for the *Saṅgha*, i.e., the regulations of the ancient Buddhist order and the life of the monks, so the *Suttapiṭaka* is our most reliable source for the *Dhamma*, i.e., the religion of the Buddha and his earliest disciples". It is a collection of the doctrinal expositions which are large and small. It deals with prose dialogues, legends, pithy sayings and verses.[5] It is written in prose and in verse. It has five *Nikāyas* or collections, and they are the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Khuddaka Nikāya.*[6] The first four *Nikāyas* discusses *suttas* or discourses "which are either speeches of the Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally diversified by verses"[7] and in character they are cognate and homogeneous.

Hirakawa Akira refers to the organisation of the *Sutta Piṭaka.* He describes,[8] "The sources for the study of the *Sutta Piṭaka* are not as plentiful as for the *Vinaya Piṭaka.* Only the *Theravāda Sutta Piṭaka* and the Chinese translations of the *Āgamas* survive. Besides these, a few Sanskrit texts and several Tibetan translations are also extant. The Pāli *Sutta Piṭaka* is divided into the following five sections:

(1) *Dīgha Nikāya*, 34 longer *Suttas.*

(2) *Majjhima Nikāya*, 152 *suttas* of medium length.

(3) *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, 2875 (or 7762 according to Buddhaghosa) *suttas* arranged according to 56 topics.

(4) *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 2198 (or 9557 according to Buddhaghosa) *suttas* arranged by numerical categories.

(5) *Khuddaka Nikāya*, 15 *suttas* :
(i) *Khuddakapāṭha*; (ii) *Dhammapada*; (iii) *Udāna*; (iv)

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Itivuttaka; (v) *Suttanīpāta*; (vi) *Vimānavatthu*; (vii) *Petavatthu*; (viii) *Theragāthā*; (ix) *Therīgāthā*; (x) *Jātaka*; (xi) *Niddesa*; (xii) *Paṭisambhidāmagga*; (xiii) *Apadāna*; (xiv) *Buddhavaṁsa*; (xv) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

The discrepancies between Buddhaghosa's count of the *suttas* in the *Saṁyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* occurs because Buddhaghosa counted even abbreviated *suttas*.

The term *Nikaya* is not used in northern Buddhist sources, which instead refer to these collections as *Āgamas*".

Significance of the Term *Nikāya*

According to T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede,[9] the term *Nikāya* means collection ("body"), assemblage, class, group, and the collection of Buddhist *suttas*. R.C. Childers[10] says that the term *Nikāya* is a multitude, assemblage, a collection, a class, order, group, an association, fraternity, congregation, a house, dwelling etc. He describes further that certain divisions of the *Tipiṭaka* or Buddhist scriptures are known as the *Nikāya* or collection.[11] According to scholars, the term *Nikāya* is used in the sense of "collection of Buddha *Sutras*". From the Pāli canonical records it is known that the Pāli canon describes the term *Nikāya* which means collection of *suttas*. The Theravādins for their canon refer to the term '*Nikāya*'. Buddhaghosa, the Pāli commentator, describes the term *Nikāya* as both collection and abode.

Here is given a brief account of the five *nikāyas*. They are: the *Dīgha Nikāya* which deals with the collection of longer *suttas*. The *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses the *suttas* of medium length. The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* mentions the *suttas* which form connected group and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* refers to the *suttas* which are arranged according to a progressive enumeration (from one to eleven) of the subjects. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* is the collection of the *suttas* which are of smaller size.

THE *DĪGHA NIKĀYA*

The *Dīgha Nikāya*[12] or the *Dīgha Saṁgaha* is regarded as the first book of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The Buddhist Sanskrit literature uses the term *āgama* for the *Nikāya*. The *Dīgha Nikāya* which is a collection of longer *suttas* or discourses deals with various

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subjects of Buddhism. It is divided into three sections which are *Sīlakkhandha*, *Mahāvagga* and *Pātheya* or *Pāṭikavagga*. It has thirty-four *suttas*.

(1) The first *sutta* is called the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, which can be explained into English as the "Excellent Net".[13] According to T.W. Rhys Davids, it is the "perfect net" or "the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition, however, subtle, can slip through". The Buddha[14] himself in the *Sutta* refers to its other alternative titles which are *atthajāla* "the net of advantage", *dhammajāla* "the net of doctrine", *diṭṭhijāla* "the net of theories and views" and *anuttarasaṁgāmavijaya* "the means of glorious victory in war". But the *sutta* itself in the text explains the appropriateness of the first title "*Brahmajāla*". It describes, "*Sayyathā pi, bhikkhavo, dakkho kavaṭṭo vā kavaṭṭantavāsī vā sukhumacchikena jālena parittam udaka-daheṃ attharayya — evam eva khe, bhikkhave, ye hi keci somanā vā brahmanā vā pubbantakappikā vā apavanta-kappikā — pubbantaparantam ārabbha aneka-vihitāni edhivutti-padāni abhivadanti, sabbe te imeh' eva dvā-saṭṭhiyā vatthūhi antojāli-katā, ettha sītā va ummujjamānā ummujjanti ettha pariyānpannā anta-jāli-kata va ummujjamānā ummujjanti*". "Just as by dragging a fine meshed net in a pond or lake it is possible to expect that all the fish of big size will not escape, but will be caught in it, so by means of this *sutta* one may expect to catch hold of all types of theories and views which are inconsistent with Buddha's doctrine". The main purpose of this *sutta* is to throw flood of light on various systems or modes of living and thinking which fall short of the standard mentioned by the Lord Buddha. Its aim is to give us a list of the possible theories about the world and the soul which may appear in the minds of the monks who, according to the Buddhist method, through meditation although have attained some powers, yet they are not in a position to reach the highest state. It gives an account of the *sīlas* or moral precepts in three sections which are *cūla* (the short paragraphs on conduct), *Majjhima* (the medium length or the longer paragraphs on conduct) and *Mahā* (long paragraphs on conduct or essays on conduct in an elaborate way).[15] It also discusses various speculations about the world and the soul. They are *Sassatavāda* "Eternalism of the world and the soul maintained on four grounds", *Ekaccassata* and *Ekaccas-satavāda* "Semi-Eternalism and Eternalism of something and non-eternalism of something maintained on four grounds",

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Antānanta "Extentionism", *Amarāvikkhepa* "Eel-wriggling", *Adhicca-samuppāda* "fortuitous originiation", *Uddhamāghātana* "Condition of soul after death", *Ucchedavāda* "Annihilationsim", and *diṭṭhadhamma-nibbana-vāda*, "The doctrine of happiness in the present life".[16] Here is given an arrangement of these views which are mentioned in this *sutta*:

(i)	*Sassatavāda* — 4 grounds of
(ii)	*Ekacca-sassatavāda* — 4 grounds of
(iii)	*Antanantavāda* — 4 grounds of
(iv)	*Amarāvikkhepavāda* — 4 grounds of
(v)	*Adhiccasamuppannavāda* — 2 grounds of
Total—18 grounds or views or theories regarding the *Pubbantakappika*	
(vi)	*Uddhamāghātanika-saññivāda* — 16 grounds of
(vii)	*Uddamāghātanika-asaññivāda* — 8 grounds of
(viii)	*Uddhamāghātanika — nevasaññi-nāsaññivāda* — 8 grounds of
(ix)	*Ucchedavāda* — 7 grounds of
(x)	*Diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbānavāda* — 5 grounds of
Total—44 grounds regarding the *Aparantakappika*	
Grand total—62 grounds or views or theories.	

The *Brahmajāla Sutta* than mentions various systems of life, arts, handicrafts, folklore, anthropology, sports, pastimes, sacrifices, different types of professions of the people, astronomy, astrology, arithmetic, accountancy, royal polity, medicine, surgery, architecture, palmistry, divining by means of omens and signs, fortune-telling from marks of the body, counting on the figures, counting without the help of the figures, summing up large totals, sophistry, practising as an accultist, practising as a surgeon, fixing a lucky day for marriage, fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treatises and for the outbreak of hostilities, auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents, prognestication by interpreting dreams, sacrificing to *Agni* or to the fire, looking at the knuckles, muttering a charm for the lucky or unlucky birth of a person, determining a suitable site for a

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house, instructing on customary law, laying ghosts, knowledge of the charm to be used when lodging in an earth house, fortelling the number of years that a man has yet to live, using charms to procure abortion, incantations to bring on dumbness, keeping a man's jaws fixed by charms and fixing on lucky sites for dwellings and consecrating sites.[17] The *Brahamajāla Sutta* refers to two types of gods. They were the *Khiḍḍāpadesikā* and the *Manopadesikā*.[18] The Buddha states that the *Khiḍḍāpadesikā* gods used to enjoy their time in laughing, playing and used to engage themselves in sensual pleasures. It was due to this reason they had no control over the mind, fall down from their position and took their birth in the human world. The *Manopadesikā* gods thought too much of one another, and it was due to this their mind was not pure at all and it became polluted and for this reason their downfall took place from that position and they took birth in the human world. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* describes that one of the higher *brahmalokas* was the world of radiance (*ābhassaraloka*).[19] It also says that, at the beginning of a new world system, a being due to his loss of life or merit fell down from the *ābhassaraloka* and took his birth in the *brahmavimāna* which was then empty and he dwelt there with his mental body and used to move in the sky.[20] The Buddha states in this *sutta* that the Great Brahmā was regarded as the first who took his birth in the *Brahmavimāna*, and was superior to the other *ābhassaradevas*.[21]

The *Brahmajāla Sutta*[22] refers to sixty-two doctrinal and philosophical speculations which was then current in India. It really discusses the most fundamental principles, ethical and philosophical views about life of the Buddha.

(2) The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*[23] or "Discourse on the reward of Buddhist mode of holy life" or "Discourse on the fruits or benefits of Buddhist way of an ascetic life" is the second *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It refers to the views of six haretical or non-Buddhist teachers who are mentioned as founders of religious sects and who played a very prominent role in the ancient India's religious world. It also mentions the good results of the life led by an ascetic or a recluse. This *sutta* begins with an account of Ajātasattu's meeting with the Buddha, who, at that time stayed at Rājagaha in the mango-grove of Jīvaka with his disciples. In order to pacify his troubled mind Ajātasattu of Magadha wanted to worship a *Sramaṇa* or a *Brāhmaṇa* and for this reason he asked his

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ministers about it. But some advised him to go and meet six contemporary religious teachers who were Purāṇa Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Niganṭha Nātaputta and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi-putta. Jīvaka, the famous physician, not only requested but also advised him to go to meet the Buddha, who would be able to give him peace and happiness to his troubled mind. Then Ajātasattu visited the Buddha and he was moved so much by his talk and advice that he accepted the religion of the Buddha.[24] He made good progress in his spiritual life, but was unable to reach the first stage of sanctification because of his sin of killing his father. From this *sutta* we get an account of views of six heretical teachers which were prevalent in the society of ancient India during the time of compilation of the *Nikāyas*. Thus the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* makes a psychological situation in the description of a historical fact which commits an offence of an anachronism insofar as it mentions all of the six teachers as persons who could be met by Ajātasattu personally. T.W. Rhys Davids[25] in his introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* mentions that this *sutta* gives an account of the Buddha's argument for the establishment of the Buddhist *Saṁgha* and for the introduction of the *Vinaya* rules for the guidance of the life of the Buddhist monks. This *sutta*[26] also refers to joy and seclusion, freedom and safety, miracle, the divine ear, memory relating to one's own former births, knowledge relating to other people's previous births etc. It also describes that Mahāvīra,[27] the founder of Jainism, gave much emphasis on the four-fold self-restraints which are known as *Cātuyāmasaṃvara*. It also states that Makhali Gosāla, the heretical teacher, divided actions into act, word and thought and thought was regarded as half *karma*.[28] From a list of occupations given in this *sutta* we get a picture of social conditions in the Gangetic valley during the period when the *Dīgha Nikāya* was compiled. Here is given a list of those professions:[29] elephant-riders, cavalry, charioteers, archers, slaves, cooks, barbers, bath-attendants, confectioners, garland-makers, washermen, weavers, basket-makers, and potters. In this *sutta* king Ajātasattu told that he would show honour and respect to any person who has taken the life of a Buddhist monk and has joined the Buddhist *Saṁgha*.[30] The Buddha refers to the advantages of a life of a recluse of any community.[31]

(3) The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*[32] is the third *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

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It discusses the subject relating to caste. T.W. Rhys Davids[33] in his introduction to the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* discusses the subject of caste which was regarded as a burning question at the time when the *Nikāyas* were compiled. "No other social problem is referred to so often; and the *Brāhmaṇas* would not be so often represented as expressing astonishment or indignation at the position taken up regarding it by the early Buddhists unless there had really been a serious difference on the subject between the two schools. But the difference, though real, has been gravely misunderstood. Rhys Davids further remarks that the disastrous effects from the ethical, social and political points of view of these restrictions and of caste as a whole have been often grossly exaggerated and the benefits of the system ignored".[34] From the manner of interrogation and rejoinder between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha who was a *brahmin* youth and was well-versed in the three *Vedas*,[35] he, on business, came to Kapilavatthu and visited the mote-hall of the *Śākyas*.[36] The country's population was divided into four *varṇas*: *khattiya*, *Brāhmaṇā*, *Vessā* and *Suddā*.[37]

The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* describes that the Buddha dwelt in a *Brāhmaṇa* village named Icchānaṅgala in Kosala. Pokkharasāti, a rich *Brāhmaṇa*, asked his disciple Ambaṭṭha to go and meet the Buddha to verify his greatness. Ambaṭṭha went to a place with some other people where the Buddha was staying. But his behaviour was very bad and he told that the *Śākya* clan had a low descent and they did not show any respect to the *Brāhmaṇas*. The Buddha then showed that Ambaṭṭha descended from a slave of the *Śākyas*. When Ambaṭṭha knew it, he felt so sorry for it and was ashamed of his behaviour. The Buddha then mentions that, at that time there existed the social custom relating to inter-marriage between a *Brāhmaṇa* son and a *Khattiya* daughter or a *khattiya* son and a *Brāhmaṇa* daughter and says about the superiority of *Khattiya* over the *Brāhmaṇa*. He describes further that "*Khattiya* is the highest, for those who follow the hierarchy of family; but truly it is Buddha, possessed of wisdom and discipline, who is the highest of all gods and men". The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* refers to the greatness of the Buddha and says that he possessed the thirty-two marks of a superman. It also discusses the pride of birth, asceticism and luxury of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

(4) The *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta*[38] is the fourth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It discusses the essential qualities of a *Brāhmaṇa*. It says

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that he is called a *Brāhmaṇa* who is "well born on both sides, of pure descent, through the father and mother, back through seven generations, with no slur put upon him and no reproach in respect of birth — a repeater of the sacred words, knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who has mastered the three vedas with indices, the ritual, the phonology and the exegesis and with the legends as a fifth, one who is learned in the etymologies of the words and the grammer, versed in nature-lore or sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man".[39] But he is the only true *Brāhmaṇa*, who is a possessor of wisdom, knows conduct very well, who is out of the jungle and in the open finally and permanently, quite beyond the stage of wasting, has wonder on the fabulous soul, has reached and still stays in this state of *Nibbāna* or Arhatship.[40] The *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta* mentions the doctrine of Brahmanic supremacy.[41] T.W. Rhys Davids says,[42] "It is clear that the word 'Brahmin' in the opinion of the early Buddhists conveyed to the minds of the people an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect".

(5) The *Kūṭadanta Sutta*[43] is the fifth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It describes right and wrong modes of sacrifices and mentions that there is a gradation according to the superior and inferior spiritual values.[44] Kūṭadanta told the brahmins about the Buddha's qualities. He visited the master, listened to his discourses and became a lay devotee of the Buddha.[45] He wanted to perform a Great Sacrifice and in order to kill bulls, goats and other animals at the sacrifice he brought them near the place of the sacrifice to kill them. He came to the Buddha and requested him to explain the three modes and sixteen accessories of a sacrifice. The three modes are mentioned as three conditions of mind or rather one condition of mind at three different times and there was no regret for the involvement of expenditure either before or during or after the sacrifice.[46] It was no doubt the hearty co-operation of the people who were the nobles, the officials, the *brāhmaṇas* and the householders — the four articles of furniture — with the king of four divisions.[47] The eight personal qualifications of the king himself were also the eight articles of furniture and four personal qualifications of his advising *brāhmaṇas* brought the total of sixteen articles which were required.[48] In this sacrifice neither animal nor vegetable was injured and service was voluntary.[49]

In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* the Buddha told the story of King

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Mahāvijita of the past when Kūṭadanta visited him. King Mahāvijita played a great role for the performance of an ideal sacrifice with its three modes and sixteen accessories. He belonged to a very noble family and he performed a sacrifice where cows, goats, hens and pigs were not killed and there was no harassment of servants. Even subordinate kings were invited for this sacrifice and they distributed their riches to the needy people. This *sutta* refers to it as an ideal sacrifice. But the Buddha said to him that there were centres which were organised for distributing charity to the needy. But among all noble sacrifices, the noblest sacrifice was known as the attainment of the noble eight-fold path which consists of right view, right resolution, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.

The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, the *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta* and the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* deal with the injustice of the Brahmanical view and say that the *Brahmaṇas* were entitled to enjoy certain privileges by birth. They also refer to the superiority of the ideal of life given by the Buddha.[50]

(6) The *Mahāli Sutta*[51] is the sixth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It refers to the means of the attainment of divine eye and ear. It also discusses the identity of body with the soul. It describes that a *Licchavi* named Mahāli, after listening to the Buddha's discourses, became very happy and he expressed his joy over it.[52]

T.W. Rhys Davids[53] in his introduction to the *Mahāli Sutta* opines that the *Sutta* is remarkable for the treatment of its subjects. In it there is a discussion of two important matters. The Buddha told that people joined the *Saṁgha* in order to attain the arhatship and to reach the state for the fulfilment of the Noble Eightfold Path.[54] It was not for the sake of acquiring the ability to see heavenly sights and to hear heavenly sounds they joined the *Saṁgha* under him. The *Mahāli Sutta* in its second part refers to the *sīlas*.[55]

T.W. Rhys Davids refers to a list of eight different modes of speaking of or to a person: "(1) a nickname arising out of some personal peculiarity; (2) a personal name that has got nothing to do with the personal peculiarity; (3) the name of the *gotra* or a surname or family name; (4) the name of the clan or the *kulanāma*; (5) the name of the mother; (6) the name of the position in society

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or occupation of the person addressed; (7) a mere general term of courtesy or respect, and (8) local name. But the name of the father was never used in this way".[56]

(7) The *Jāliya Sutta*,[57] which is the seventh *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, refers to soul and body. "Is the soul distinct from body" — this *sutta* discusses this important problem.

(8) The *Kassapasīhanāda Sutta*[58] is the eighth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It describes the various practices which were prevalent during the time of the Buddha. It mentions the Buddha's talk with a nacked ascetic relating to asceticism.[59] It also says some peculiar practices of the naked ascetics which helped to characterise the "*Ājīvikas*" life.[60] From this *sutta* we learn that Kassapa visited the Buddha and in course of time he reached the state of arhatship.[61] According to the Buddha,[62] the insight, self-control, and self-mastery of the path or of the system of intellectual and moral training which were introduced for the Buddhist monks were considered as harder than merely the physical practices.

(9) The *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*[63] is the ninth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It discusses the mastery of trance, the question of soul and the infinity and eternalism of the world.[64] When the Buddha stayed at the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika, then Poṭṭhapāda, a *paribbājaka*, with a large number of his followers, came to the monastery of Mallika.[65] The Buddha visited him and Poṭṭhapāda gave him a warm welcome and showed his respect and honour.[66] This *sutta*[67] refers to the method of discourses which were usually delivered to the *paribbājakas* or the wanderors. It is to be noted here that the *Kassapasīhanāda* and the *Poṭṭhapāda Suttas* mention the fruits or the rewards or the good results which were acquired by the Buddhists through holy practices.[68]

(10) The *Subha Sutta*[69] is the tenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It has a great similarity with the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, but it differs from it only when it divides the states of mind under three divisions which are *sīla* (conduct), *samādhi* (concentration) and *paññā* (wisdom).[70] There are reasons to treat this *sutta* as a separate one because "*samādhi* includes the *jhānas*, the habit of guarding the doors of one's senses, constant mindfulness and self-posseession and the faculty of being content with little".[71]

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This *sutta* describes that "from the negative point of view it is said to include emancipation from ill-temper, inertness of mind and body, worry and perplexity; and from the positive point of view it is said to include a constant state of joy and peace".[72]

(11) The *Kevaḍḍha Sutta*[73] is the eleventh *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It discusses the practice of miracles, and mentions the means by which the manifestation of gods gradually became clear to a self-concentrated individual.[74] It describes *cātummahārājika, Nimmāṇarati, Paranimmitavasavatti* and *Brahmaloka* which are mentioned as the heavens.[75] From this *sutta* we learn that the Buddha was regarded as superior to the gods which were headed by Brahmā. Because the gods were not able to answer a question, but the Buddha alone was able to do that. Brahmā told the questioner that in the presence of other gods he was not in a position to say that he was unable to answer to the question.[76]

(12) The *Lohicca Sutta*[77] is the twelfth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with some points relating to the ethics of teaching and gives a description of three blameworthy and blameless teachers.[78] It then says that everyone should be given opportunity to learn, everyone who has some abilities should be given a chance to teach, and if one teaches, then "he should teach all and to all, keeping nothing back, shutting no one out".[79] An individual should not take upon himself to teach others unless and until he has first trained himself and has thoroughly taught himself, and has learnt the method of giving the truth which he has acquired.[80]

It is to be noted here that the *Mahāli Sutta*, the *Jāliya Sutta*, the *Subha Sutta* and the *Lohicca Sutta* in a slightly different way revert to the subject-matters of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*.[81]

(13) The *Tevijja Sutta* is the thirteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.[82] From this *sutta* we learn that the *Brāhmaṇas* based their religious life on the methods introduced by the three *Vedas* and the Buddha criticised them. It mentions the *Brahmavihāra*. It says that one can reach the *Brahmaloka* through the restraint and practices of the four *Brahmavihāras* which are love or loving-kindness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy at the success of others or sympathy for others' well-being (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*). But it refutes the methods introduced by the *Vedic* seers to reach the *Brahmaloka*.[83] It describes three types of Brahmanical teachers. Atthaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva,

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Vessāmitta, Aṅgirasa, Bharadvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa, Yamataggi and Bhagu belonged to the first group of Brahmanical teachers.[84] They were regarded as the authors and chanters of the *Vedic mantras*. The *Addhariya* (*Aitareya*), the *Tittiriya* (*Taittiriya*), the *Chandoka* (*Chāṇḍogya*), the *Chandāvā* (*Śatapatha*), and the *Bhavyārijjha* (*Bāhvṛca*) were mentioned as the five prominent schools of Brahmanical thinkers and they belonged to the second group. In the third group there were some *mahasala Brahmanas*. According to Buddhaghosa, they were *Mahāsāla* because they were rich *Brāhmaṇas* and they possessed enormous wealth. In the *Tevijja Sutta* the Buddha mentioned the three *vijjās* or the *Tevijjas* of the *Brāhmaṇas* and also his own three *vijjās*. The Buddhas told that the *Tevijjas* only refer to the state of Brahmā but they were not able to reach that state and they did not know the right method to acquire them. This *sutta* speaks highly of the *Tathāgata*.[85] Mrs. Rhys Davids states, "*Tathāgata* was a worthy name for one who had worked to help men as other men had done before him. It is like the word *messias*. She further points out "it was not a name of my duty. The name always comes up when men are honouring me for something I did not merit. It is the name given to me by those '*Porāṇas*' (men of old) who were a hundred years and more after my time. They honoured the man they know has once been leader".[86] This *sutta* refers to him as the most exalted, the Excellent, the charioteer of mankind, the charioteer of gods, the Buddha, and the Blessed One.[87] A *bhikkhu* became pious when he gave up the idea of slaughtering life, and when he restrained his life and did not kill animals,[88] "*bhikku pānātipātam pahāya pānātipātā pativirato hotī*".[89] This *sutta* describes that when the Buddha visited several places in Kosala, he came to a *Brāhmaṇa* village named Manasākaṭa and stayed near the northern bank of the river Aciravatī. There he met two young *Brāhmaṇas*, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja and had discussions with them in various matters. He gave them a discourse on the *Dhamma* and told them that it was due to the attachment to the objects of five senses one was unable to reach the state of enlightenment. This *sutta* refers to "the union of men with Brahmā, but there Brahmā appears to stand more for Brahmā of the Brahmanical system than Brahmā, the creator-god".[90]

(14) The *Mahāpadāna suttanta*[91] is the fourteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and the second volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya* begins with this *sutta*. The use of the word "*Apadāna*" in the title of this

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sutta indicates legend or life-story of a Buddha.[92] The thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* uses this title and it signifies the legend or life-story of an *Arahant*.[93] The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* may signify an account of the Great Ones (Seven Buddhas).[94] This *sutta* discusses the lives of the seven Buddhas whose arrival took place before Gautama Buddha. It mentions elaborately the life of Vipassī which is regarded as a replica of Śākyamuni.[95] Vipassī was the first of the seven previous Buddhas. He left his royal surroundings and accepted the homeless life. He reached the state of enlightenment by working through the *Nidāna* chain. In course of time he became Vipassī Buddha. In order to preach his *Dhamma* he told his disciples, "go out and about amongst the people for their welfare and their happiness, in compassion for the world and for the individual happiness of gods and human beings. Preach the doctrine, lovely in its origin, lovely in its development and lovely in the consummation. Declare the religious life, its meaning and attributes, in its entirety and perfection". In this *sutta* we find in interpretation of the term "*Pātimokkha*". It is used not in the sense of a Penal Code of the monks and nuns, but in a higher sense of ethical discipline which was attainable by following the lives of the Great Teachers.

T.W. Rhys Davids refers to the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*. He states[96] "We find in this tract the root of that *Birana* weed which, growing up along with the rest of Buddhism, went on spreading so luxuriantly that it gradually covered up much that was of virtue in the earlier teaching, and finally led to the downfall, in its home in India, of the ancient faith. The doctrine of the *Bodhisattva*, of the wisdom-Being, drove out the doctrine of the Aryan Path. A gorgeous hierarchy of mythological wounder-workers filled men's minds, and the older system of self-training and self-control became forgotten". T.W. Rhys Davids[97] further describes that "even at its first appearance here the weed is not attractive. The craving for edification is more manifest in it than the desire for truth".

(15) The *Mahānidāna Suttanta*[98] is the fifteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. This *sutta* deals with the doctrine of *Paticcasamuppāda* or dependent origination or the Law of Causation and mentions soul, seven kinds of beings and eight kinds of *vimokkhas* or stages of emanicipation.[99] The eight stages

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of emancipation[100] are the condition of *rūpa*, *arūpa*, *saññi*, recognition of *subha*, realisation of *ākāsānānañcāyatana* (infinity of space), *viññānānañcāyatana* (infinitude of life-force or mind-matter), of *ākiñcaññāyatana* (realm or sphere of nothingness), of *neva-saññānasaññāyatana* (neither perception nor non-perception), and of *saññāvedayitanirodha* (cessation of consciousness and sensation). This *sutta* also discusses the cause of *jāti* (birth), *jarā* (old age) and *maraṇa* (death).[101] From this *sutta* we learn that there was a talk between the Buddha and Ānanda. Here the latter told the former that it was really strange to see that the *Dharma* which was regarded as deep and profound appeared to me to be very easy.[102] But the Buddha said to Ānanda that it was really not good to say like this. Because due to ignorance and non-realisation of his *Dharma*, people were too busy with the worldly affairs and were entangled too much in this worldly matters and were not able to overcome hell.[103]

T.W. Rhys Davids[104] says that this *sutta* discusses the doctrine of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* in an elaborate way. "Although the formula as expounded in this *sutta* ends in the usual way . . . such is the uprising of the whole body of ill' the burden of the dialogue is in no way directly concerned with ill, pain or sorrow".[105]

(16) The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutanta*[106] is the sixteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It is regarded as the best *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with the Buddha's last days and his last speeches and sayings. The third chapter of this *sutta* refers to the Buddha's visit to Vesālī (Vaisālī). The sixth chapter mentions important events which practically affected the fate of Buddhism. The fifth chapter records "the wailings of men and women of countries far and near on hearing that the Exalted One would pass away too soon, and the honour with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, as found in chapter VI, go to show how deeply were the people moved by the preachings and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the *Tathāgatha*, "Decay is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence" "*Vayadhammā saṁkhārā, appamādena sampādethā ti*", strikes the keynote of the Buddha's philosophy and mission".[107]

The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* mentions *sīla* and *samādhi*, four applications of mindfulness (cattāre satipaṭṭhāna), four psychic

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powers (*cattāre iddhipādā*), five guiding faculties (*pañca indriyāni*), five forces (*pañca balāni*), seven factors of enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅga*), the noble eight-fold path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*), the fourfold noble truth, *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa's visit to the Buddha, seven conditions of welfare of the *Bhikkhusaṁgha*, the lineage of faith, eight causes of earthquake, eight causes of subduing others, the Buddha's visit to Cuṇḍa, four places of pilgrimage of any devout lay Buddhist, good results relating to the erection of *dhātucaityas*, former greatness of Kusīnārā, Subhadda's visit to the Buddha and his conversation with him, the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha or the passing away of the Buddha, the Mallas' homage to the Buddha's dead body, the cremation of the dead body of the Blessed One, quarrel over the Buddha's relics, Doṇa's important role for the peaceful distribution of the Buddha's relics, and construction of *stūpas* over the Buddha's relics.[108] It further says that when Ajātasattu of Magadha wanted to declare war against the Vajjians and to defeat them, then the Buddha told that the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare[109] and it was for this reason they would not face any danger now.[110] It then describes that the disciples of Pāṭligāma cordially received the Buddha who referred to the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders.[111]

The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* gives an account of the villages through which the Buddha passed on his way to Kusinagara or Kusīnārā, and he gave the last instruction for the well-being of the *Saṁgha*. The names of the places were Pāṭaligāma, Koṭigāma, Nādikā, Vesālī, Bhaṇḍagāma, Bhoganagara, Pāvā And Kusīnārā.[112] At Pāvā the Buddha stayed in the mango-grove of Cuṇḍa, who was the son of a blacksmith.[113] He took his meal at Cuṇḍa's place and then he had an attack of dysentry.[114] From there he went to Kusīnārā of the Mallas and there his *Mahāparinibbāna* took place between the twin *sāla* trees.[115] This *sutta* then describes the distribution of the Buddha's relics amongst the *Moriyas* of Pipphalivana, Ajātasattu of Magadha, the *Licchavis* of Vaiśālī (Vesālī), the *Śākyas* (*sākiyas*) of Kapilavastu (Kapilavatthu), the *Bulis* of Allakappa, the *Koliyas* of Rāmagāma, a *Brāhmaṇa* of Veṭhadīpa, and the *Mallas* of Pāvā and Kusīnārā, who erected *stūpas* over them.[116]

The *Mahāparinibbana Suttanta* informs us about the republican

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states like Vajji, Malla, Sakka, Buli and Koliya. From this *sutta* we learn that the Buddha said to his disciples to observe precepts, meditation, knowledge and emancipation and he also introduced four rules to ascertain the *Buddhavacanas*' authenticity. He also told his lay disciples to go to Kapilavastu, Gayā, Benares and Kusinagara. This *sutta* records that the Buddha described *Parisā* or assemblies of the gods which were the assembly of the *cātummahārājika* gods, the assembly of the *Tāvatiṁsa* gods, the assembly of Māra and the assembly of Brahmā.[117]

(17) The *Mahāsudassana Suttanta*[118] is the seventeenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It begins with an account of the riches and glory of *Mahāsudassana*. It "reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth".[119] T.W. Rhys Davids says that the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* "seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic".[120] The *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* mentions the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, the royal city and its palace of Righteousness, the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment.[121] The aim and object of it is to inform us that "all is vanity except righteousness".[122] It says that nothing is permanent and there is an inevitable destruction of all objects.[123] For this reason it has used rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions.[124] It mentions the past greatness of Kusāvatī (Kusinagara, Kusinārā), which was King Sudassana's city.[125] B.C. Law states,[126] "The eloquent description in the *Mahāsudasana Suttanta* of the magnificence and lost glory of the ancient city of Kusāvatī, the capital of King Sudassana, was a literary development in Pāli in the edification of the Buddha's explanations offered in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, for his choosing as the place for his passing away in a daub town like Kusinārā of his day".

(18) The *Janavasabha Suttanta*[127] is the eighteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with the rebirths of Gautama Buddha's faithful lay-disciples, the effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of miraculous power or magical power (*iddhi*), the three ways of bliss and seven requisites

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relating to *samādhi* or concentration.[128] It also describes the *Tāvatiṁsa* gods, the gods of *Paranimmita vasavattī*, *Nimmānarati*, Yāma, *Cātummahārājika* heavens, and King Vessavana Kuvera's assembly.[129] From it[130] we learn that about 24,00,000 lay-devotees, who belonged to Magadha, followed the Buddha's instructions properly and were able to attain the *Sotāpattiphala* or the fruition of the first stage of sanctification.

(19) The *Mahā-Govinda Suttanta*[131] is the nineteenth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. This *sutta* is important from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. It deals with the Buddhist conception of the shape of India. It states that on the north, India was broad but in the south its form was like the front portion of a cart (i.e., *sakaṭamukhaṁ*) and was divided into seven equal parts.[132] They were Kaliṅga, Patana, Avanti, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and Kāsī. B.C. Law[133] remarks that "It is really very important in the history of Pāli literature. It is no less important as one of the earliest examples cited in the *Cullaniddesa* (p. 80) of the *Jātakas* that in a way served as a model for the birth stories in the later commentaries". This *sutta* mentions the *Sudhamma* or Mete Hall of the gods of *Tāvatiṁsa* Heaven where all the gods assembled there and *Sakka*, the king of gods, acted as President and they were happy to see the increase of their members "through the appearance in their midst, of new gods produced by the good *karma* of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gautama".[134] Sakka, who was regarded as the lord of the gods, praised the Buddha in a few verses.[135] From this *sutta* we learn about *Mahā*-Brahmā's views of an ideal *Brāhmaṇa*, concept of *Nirvāṇa*, path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways, and *Mahā* Govinda's renunciation of the worldly life with many followers and his seven wives.[136]

(20) The *Mahā-Samaya Suttanta*[137] is the twentieth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with the continual change in animistic belief which was then prevalent in India.[138] T.W. Rhys Davids[139] describes, "The poem is almost unreadable now. The long list of strange names awakes no interest. And it is somewhat pathetic to notice the hopeless struggle of the author to enliven his unmanageable material with a little poetry. It remains save here and there, only doggerel still. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the framework put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologues) and at the

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end, the third the prologue, with the verse of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the *Saṁyutta*, I, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the framework in our section 4, 5, and 6 is very confused, and awkward; and the grammer of the framework is inconsistent with the grammer of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself and also the epilogue, has been handed down as independent works in the community before our *suttanta* was composed. The framework may be the work of the editor. The legends told here were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them . . . then so prevalent in the Ganges Valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books". This *sutta* refers to some gods of the earth and also of the regions above and in it, there is a reference to a long list of gods.[140]

(21) The *Sakkapañha Suttanta*[141] is the twenty-first *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (III, 13), the *Mahāvastu* (I, 350), the *Milinda Pañha* (350) and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (I, 28) refer to it by name. This *sutta* describes that the Buddha stayed at a *Brāhmaṇa* village named Ambasaṇḍa which was near Magadha and there he dwelt in the Indasāla cave on the Vediya mountain. Sakka,[142] found it very difficult to approach the Buddha, who had then engaged himseelf in deep meditation. He then took the help of Pañcasikha who was a heavenly Musician (*gandhabba*). This musician sang in praise of the Blessed One, the Truth, the *Arahant* and love. The Buddha was deeply moved by the music of the *Gandhabba* and then he had a talk with him and he came to know about the advent of Sakka through his conversation with him. Sakka paid homage to the Buddha and asked several questions which were related to ethics and psychology. He was very happy with the Budda's answers and he was then converted to Buddhism. B.C. Law[143] says "The conversion of the king of the thrity-three appears, at first sight, to be proposterous, but the analysis of the meaning in which the world "*Sakka*" is used, leads us to hold that the king of gods, is not free from three deadly evils, lust, ill-will and stupidity, nor from anxiety. He is still subject to death and rebirth, and as such, he desires to be reborn in some higher planes of celestial beings". This *sutta*[144] also deals with the causes of malice and avarice, the causes of favour or disfavour, the path relating to *papañca* (any of the evil conditions), *saññā* (consciousness), and *saṁkhāranirodha* (cessation of confections) and the rules of the *Pātimokkha* which

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were to be followed by a *bhikkhu*. It then discusses[145] the Buddha's sojourn in the kingdom of Magadha, and Gopīkā, a *Śākya* princess, who was happy with the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*, observed the precepts properly, and was so much unhappy with women life that she engaged herself in meditation to become a man.

(22) The *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*[146] is the twenty-second *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with the path of mindfulness (*sati*). The Aryan Path can be obtained with the help of mindfulness. In this *Sutta* the Buddha told his disciples to set up mindfulness. It then discusses four types of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of *vedanā* (sensation), *citta* (thought), and *dhamma* (condition).[147] It also mentions five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five *khandhas* or aggregates and various stages of inhalations and exhalations.[148]

(23) The *Pāyāsi Suttanta*[149] is the twenty-third *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. This *sutta* has received its name after a *Khattiya* teacher and philosopher named Pāyāsi, who was a chieftain of Setavya, a city of the Kosalans. According to him, there was no rebirth after death and that the acts of a being, good or bad, did not produce any effect. But Kumāra Kassapa, a disciple of the Buddha, refuted this view and with the help of *similesa* and analogy he was able to show and to prove that Pāyāsi's arguments had no value at all and they were useless. So he was able to convince Pāyāsi and defeated him by his arguments and as a result, Pāyāsi became a disciple of Kassapa.[150] The second part[151] of the dialogue is sequel to the first which is a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple Uttara. Here the latter was successful in persuading Pāyāsi to establish gifts in the faith. The third part[152] is a sequel to the second and it deals with a conversation between the Venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi in the lovely Sarīsaka Mansion. The *Pāyāsi Suttanta* records moon god and sun god, message from the dead, escape of the soul, search for the soul and right and wrong sacrifices.[153]

(24) The *Pāṭika Suttanta*[154] is the twenty-fourth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It is in the third and the last section of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It records that by a few days Niganṭha Nāthaputta predeceased the Buddha.[155] It deals with mystic wonders and the origin of things.[156] It mentions[157] "how corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and

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then falls back dead again; or how an incompetent medicinemen gets stuck fast to his seat and wriggles about in his vain endeavours to rise". A serious reader may not like this sort of story. "Whether it could have appealed to wiser folk is very questionable. One gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which the *Tathāgata* is here represented as suffering feels. gladly. And it is difficult to bear with an author who tells stories so foolish merely to prove that the *Tathāgata* is as good a musician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of the *Tathāgatha* himself".[158] It is to be noted here that this *sutta* in style and taste and also in doctrinal matters differs from the others.[159] It describes that a *Licchavi* named Sunakkhatta at first was a disciple of the Buddha.[160] But afterwards he left the Buddhist *Saṁgha* and he tried to misinterpret the doctrine of the Buddha. The Blessed One then gave a talk on his own doctrine and he delivered it in a proper way.[161]

(25) The *Udumbarika-Sīhanāda Suttanta*[162] is the twenty-fifth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It says about various types of ascetic practices.[163] The Buddha told the evil effects of glorious ascetic practices and gave an account of the life of a real recluse.[164]

(26) The *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda Suttanta*[165] is the twenty-sixth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It says that the Buddha gave instruction to his disciples to practise four *satipaṭṭhānas* and mentioned the life of a Universal monarch whose name was Daḷhanemi.[166] T.W. Rhys Davids describes, "The Buddha is represented in the *suttanta* as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas) and then as inculcating the observance of the *Dhamma* — the Norm as the most important farce for the material and normal progress of mankind".[167] This *sutta* throws light on corruption which led to the destruction of life. It also states that due to the improvement of morals, the lengthening of life was possible. It refers to the Buddha's prediction that when the lease of life of human beings would be 80,000 years, than Vārānasi's name would be Ketumati and it would be Jambudīpa's capital and Saṅkha would be its king and he would be known as Universal monarch and he would be a possessor of seven gems.[168]

(27) The *Aggañña Suttanta*[169] is the twenty-seventh *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It deals with the beginning of the world and says

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something against the *brāhmaṇa*'s claim to superiority by birth. In it the good conduct is regarded as higher than caste.[170] It mentions the evolution of the world, man and society, the origin of the four castes: *Khattiya*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vassa* (*Vaiśya*) and *Sudda* (*Śūdra*), and it refers to righteousness which is above lineage.[171] This *sutta*[172] states that the Buddha stayed at Pubbārāma and King Pasenadi of Kosala knew the Buddha's renunciation of the world from the *Śākya* family and although the Buddha and King Pasenadi were of same age, yet he did his best to pay homage and respect to the Buddha because he was an eminent great teacher.

(28) The *Sampasādanīya Suttanta*[173] is the twenty-eighth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It states that the Buddha stayed at the mango-grove of Pāvārika and Sāriputta, his disciple, went there and paid homage to him and mentioned his excellence in an edifying and comprehensive manner.[174]

(29) The *Pāsādika Suttanta*[175] is the twenty-ninth *Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It speaks of the condition of a perfect religion, the characteristics of the *Tathāgata* and the wrong views about the past and the future.[176] From this *suttanta* it is known that Cuṇḍa, the novice of Pāvā, conveyed the news of the discussion to Ānanda which was the cause for the division of the Jain *saṃgha*. Ānanda knew the importance of the events and he referred it to the Buddha,[177] who gave a long discourse.

(30) The *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*[178] is the thirtieth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It mentions thirty-two signs of a great man or superman. It speaks of the acts by which a person acquires the thrity-two signs of great men. It begins with an account of the Buddha's stay at the Jetavana Monastery at Sāvatthī, where he said to the monks: "There are thrity-two special marks of the superman, Oh monks, for whom two careers lie open, and none others. If he lives at home, he becomes a *Cakkavatti* king, the righteous lord of the right, the ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people, and owner of the seven treasures. His seven treasures are: the wheel-treasure (*cakka-ratanaṃ*), the elephant-treasure (*hatthi-ratanaṃ*), the horse-treasure (*assa-ratanaṃ*), the gem-treasure (*mani-ratanaṃ*), the woman-treasure (*itthi-ratanaṃ*), the treasurer-treasure (*gahapati-ratanaṃ*), and the captain-treasure (*pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ*). . . But, if such an individual renounces home and embraces the homeless of an ascetic, he becomes a Buddha Supreme, dispeller of the veil

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of darkenss from the world". Here is given an account of the thirty-two special marks of the superman: "He has feet with level tread, thousand-spoked wheels appear on the soles of his feet, he has projecting heels, he is long in the fingers and toes, his hands and feet are soft and tender, his hands and foot are like a net, his ankles are like rounded shells, his legs are like that of an antelope's, standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hands, his male organs are concealed in a sheath, his complexion is of gold colour, his skin is so delicately smooth that no dust clings his body, down on it grows in single hair one to each pore, the down of his body turns upward, every hair of it — blue black in colour like eye-paint — in little curling rings — curling to the right, he has a frame divinely straight, he has the seven convex surfaces, the front half of his body is like a lion's, there is no furrow between his shoulders, his proportions have the symmetry of the banyan tree — the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, his bust is equally rounded, his taste is supremely acute, his jaws are as a lion's, he has forty teeth, his teeth are regular, his teeth are lustrous, his eye-teeth are very lustrous, his tongue is long, he has a divine voice like that of the Karavīka bird, his eyes are intensely blue, his eyelashes are like that of a cow, between his eyebrows there appears a mole white and soft, and his head is like a royal turban". The Buddha mentioned that owing to the result of the good deeds of the previous birth one earned these marks.

(31) The *Siṅgālovāda Suttanta*[179] is the thirty-first *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It is regarded as the only comprehensive discourse which was delivered by the Buddha for the benefit of the lay devotees. This *sutta* refers to the duties of a householder. It "is an exposition of the whole domestic and social duty of a layman, according to the Buddhist point of view, and, as such, it is famous under the name of *Gihivinaya*". Some scholars think that it is the basis of Aśoka's *dhamma*. This *sutta* speaks of the Buddha's admonition to Singāla, a young man who was a son of a householder. The Blessed One said that by putting away the four vices in conduct, doing no evil action in four ways and not following six channels for dissipating wealth, the noble householder covered the six quarters and entered the path which led to victory both in this world and also in the next and after his death he was born in a happy heavenly world.

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(32) *The Ātanāṭiya Suttanta*[180] is the thirty-second *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.It speaks of gods, *gandhabbas*, and *Yakkhas* who were not happy with the Buddha. It refers to a magic spell for the protection of lonely monks from evil-minded *yakkhas* (*yakṣas*). It mentions the Kumbhaṇḍa *petas* and their lord was Viruḷha who had many sons. These *petas* were backbiters, murderers, craftyminded rogues etc.[181]

(33) The *Saṅgīti Suttanta*[182] is the thirty-third *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It speaks of Sāriputta's explanation of the *Dhamma*.[183] It refers to the *dasa dhamma* or ten conditions (single doctrine, double doctrine, triple doctrine, fourfold doctrine etc.) much in the same way as the Puggalapaññatti mentions the *dasa puggala* or ten individuals, i.e., the varieties of those walking in the Four Paths.[184]

(34) The *Dasuttara Suttanta*[185] is the thirty-fourth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It gives us a sort of compendium of the *dhamma* in ten numerical settings. It describes that the Buddha stayed at Campā on the bank of the lake Gaggarā and Sāriputta gave a discourse on the *dhamma* to the assembly of monks and mentioned the cardinal principles which were arranged in groups from one to ten. He said that there was zeal in good things which helped much, there was mindfulness which was developed, there was contact as a condition of intoxicants (*asavas*) and of grasping which was understood, there was self-consciousness that was eliminated, there was food for subsistence, which was known, and there was sure and unshakable emancipation of mind which was realised. There were faith, good health, honesty, energy and insight which helped an individual in his spiritual path.

THE *MAJJHIMA NIKĀYA*

The *Majjhima Nikāya*[186] is mentioned as the second book of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It is called the "Middle Collection" or "the collection of discourses of medium length".[187] It has one hundred and fifty-two *suttas* of medium length. Most of the *suttas* refer to the refutation of the views of others (*paravādamathana*). This *nikāya* has three volumes and each has fifty *suttas* or discourses. But the third volume has fifty-two *suttas*. This *nikāya* discusses all the points of Buddhism. Its *suttas*[188] refer to the life of Buddhist monks, the Brahmanical sacrifices, various types of ascetic practices, the Buddha's relation with the Jainas and the social

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and political conditions which were prevalent at that time. This *nikāya* mentions the four noble truths of Buddhism, the doctrins of form or action, refutation of the soul theories and different types of meditation.[189]

(1) The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*[190] is mentioned as the first *sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. It was delivered in the pleasure-grove of Ukkaṭṭhā and the Buddha uttered these words, "*Sabba-dhamma-mūlapariyāyaṃ vo bhikkhave desessāmi*", "Oh *bhikkhu*, I shall expound the main procedure of all religious beliefs". In this discourse the Buddha gave the real position of the contemporary systems of philosophy and mentioned the differences that existed between these systems of philosophy and his own.[191] He referred to the Brahmanical theory of soul and said that he by his new practices found the non-existence of soul. From this *sutta* we learn that many philosophical and theological ideas existed then in India.[192] It informs us that there was a difference between the Brāhmanical conception of *Nirvāṇa* and the Buddha's conception of *Nibbāna*. The pre-Buddhist thinkers obtained the *Nirvāṇa* after the attainment of the realm of neither preception nor non-perception. It is to be noted here that such an attainment was not wholly free from the attachment to the existence. But the Buddha attained and realised the *Nibbāna* which was free from all attachments, birth, illness, old age and death. This *sutta* describes that an individual was able to subdue the time-factor (*kāla*), and it was not able to overcome him. It states that the Buddha's disciples who were learned and noble disciples (*ariyasāvakas*) knew Pajāpati, Brahmā, *Ābhassara* gods, *Subhakiṇṇa* gods, *Vehapphala*, *Abhibhū*, *Ākāsānañcāyatana*, *Viññāṇañcāyatana*, *Ākiñcaññāyatana* and *Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatāna* gods.[193]

(2) The *Sabbāsava Sutta*[194] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with the banes (*āsavas*). In this *sutta* the Buddha told that relief from all banes or *āsavas* came to those only who saw and understood all things.[195] A man by his wise attention, discernment, restraint, carefulness, endurance, suppression and mental exercise destroyed banes.[196] A person, who was wisely attentive, destoryed banes easily.[197] These persons, whose activities created sensual lust, craved for existence and did something for the past existence were mentioned as blameworthy.[198] For this reason they became victims of some wrong views about self and then fell into the net

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of diverse views.[199] But those persons who always paid attention to the worthy things were able to get rid of them.[200] No bane was able to appear if anybody paid his attention only to the worthy things.[201]

(3) The *Dhammadāyāda Sutta*[202] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of the heirs of truth, solitude and the Middle Path. In it the Buddha mentioned two classes of monks and he distinguished between them. He said that one who strongly supported the *Dhamma* and the other who wanted the food strongly so that one was able to practise and to follow the *Dhamma* properly.[203] But the Buddha spoke highly of the former who was regarded as the upholder of the real truth.[204] The first portion is mentioned as an introduction in which there is a description of the story of two *bhikkhus* who were Amisadāyāda and Dhammadāyāda by the Buddha.[205] The Buddha then left the place and Sāriputta, his disciple, then gave a discourse on solitude in the second part of this sutta.[206] He said that the disciples of the lonely teacher were in three ways not able to practise solitude.[207] He then mentioned the Middle Path which led to the destruction of avarice, hatred, delusion etc. and it helped to the attainment of *Nibbāna*.[208]

(4) The *Bhayabherava Sutta*[209] or "the Discourse of Fear and Terror" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the way in which fear appeared in mind. In it the Buddha told the *Brāhmaṇa* named Jānussoṇi that a person who entered the deep forests with heart filled with longings, and desires or restless or witless and drivelling, then only fear appeared in him.[210] This *sutta* refers to the causes of the appearance of terror to a person and not to others.[211] It gives reminiscences of the Buddha's terrible experiences in a deep forest before his enlightenment.[212] It mentions the subject of *jhāna* or "raft musing" or "abstraction".[213]

(5) The *Anaṅgaṇa Sutta*[214] or the "Discourse on the Freedom from Depravity" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that it was not possible to give liberation to an undepraved person unless and until he saw himself that really he was able to free himself from depravation, that is, unless he know the pitfall, he had a chance to fall into.[215] In this *sutta* Sāriputta told that there were some monks who followed the wrong path and they were bad types and they wanted position and enjoyed pleasure.[216] In it there is a reference to Paṇḍuputta, who was a naked ascetic and from it we learn that the naked ascetics were not free from corruption and

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used to live as a distinct sect. This *sutta* was not delivered by the Buddha and it is mentioned as "a mere discourse among the disciples while the Buddha was still alive".[217]

(6) The *Ākhaṅkheyya Sutta*[218] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the Buddha said to his disciples to observe strictly the rules of morality or precepts (*sīla*) and *pātimokkha* (*Pāti-mokkha saṁvara saṁbhuta*). Generally in the hearts of worldly people there were always desire for fame, reputation and power to know other's mind.[219] But this was not at all good. It was the duty of the monks to observe the rules and to practise the precepts of good conduct faithfully and to behave in a subdued and restrained way.[220] This *sutta* refers to *arūpa-vimokkha*, three *saṃyojanas*, *eraṃbhāgiyasaṃyojanas* and also *samadhi* and *vipassanā*.

(7) The *Vatthūpama Sutta*[221] or the "Parable of the Cloth" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* has two parts. It describes that the Buddha gave instructions to the Buddhist monks to remain pure in mind and to destroy all mental impurities.[222] It was the duty of the monks to know the true nature of impurities and when they know them fully, they abandoned them.[223] Then they offered their faith and devotion in the Buddha and in the rules which guided them.[224] This *sutta*[225] mentions that the *Brāhmaṇa* Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā once asked the Buddha about the latter's visit to the river Bāhukā for bath. Bhāradvāja said to him that the river had some power of purifying physical and mental impurities. The Buddha then told him that there was no need to go there for bath. But afterwards he was converted to Buddhism. B.C. Law says,[226] "Of the two parts of this *sutta* the second is relevant only if we take yet the faint connection of purifying power of the Bāhukā river with the purifying power of mind. Otherwise the episode of Bhāradvāja is out of the place. There are two points of notice: (1) that the parable of cloth may be interpreted as an illustration of the popular Buddhist conception of mind in *tabula rasa* or clean sheet of cloth, contaminated by impurities which being foreign to its nature (*āgantukādosā*) can be ultimately got rid of and (2) that it preserves a very ancient Pāli couplet mentioning seven important rivers, e.g., Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā and the rest as holy waters in which the people bathed to wash away their sins and impurities, Gayā being represented the chief of all".

(8) The *Sallekha Sutta*[227] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records a conversation between the Buddha and Mahā-Cuṇḍa. The former

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gave a reply to the latter. He said that a Buddhist monk, in order to make himself free from various false views relating to self and the universe, stated with right comprehension that there was no "mine", no "this was I", no "this was myself".[228] In this *sutta* the Buddha[229] mentioned that each of the planes (the four ecstasies, infinity of space, of mind, of nothingness, of neither perception nor imperception, etc.) was not an expunging but an excellent state. He said that this was the way to expunge though others were harmful; but a monk was harmless.[230]

(9) The *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta*[231] or the "Discourse on the Right Belief" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to Sāriputta's idea of the right belief. The Monks became anxious to know from him its real significance.[232] Sāriputta then told them that the right belief signifies the disciples' knowledge of good and evil with all their roots.[233] He mentioned that evils included killing, stealing, sex indulgence, speaking falsely, spreading scandal, speaking harshly, speaking roughly, speaking frivolously, covetousness, ill-will, erroneous views, desire, hatred and delusion.[234] But he thinks that good signifies abstention from the above-mentioned evils, absence of attachment to passion, love and wisdom.[235] At the request of the monks he then gave the various ways which led to right belief. They were:[236] by knowing *āhāre* — its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing suffering, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing decay and death — its origin, its cessation, and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing birth, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing existence, its origin, its cessation, and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing attachment, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing sensation, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing contact, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing activity, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing ignorance, its origin, its cessation, and the cause which led to its cessation, by knowing canker, its origin, its cessation and the cause which led to its cessation.

(10) The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*[237] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, i.e., to keep an eye over body (*kāya*), sensation (*Vedanā*), mind (*citta*) and phenomenon (*dhamma*). In

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this *sutta* the Buddha told the monks to practise mindfulness.[238] Owing to the mastering of fourfold mindfulness, one was able to overcome sorrow and lamentation and ills of body and of mind and obtained the right path and realised *Nibbāna*.[239]

(11) The *Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta*[240] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the Buddha said to his disciples to tell the followers of other paths that they excelled them in these points: "(1) *Satthāripasāda* — faith in teacher, (2) *Dhammepasāda* — faith in the law, (3) *sīlesu paripūrakāritā* — strict observance of morality, and (4) *sahadhammikā piyāmanāpāgahaṭṭhā c'eva pabbajitā ca* — agreeableness in the company of the dear fellow believers whether they are laymen or monks". The Buddha then mentioned that all ideas relating to self, eternity and non-eternity took their origin from the clinging to the self which may be mentioned as non-comprehension of the law.[241] In this *sutta* some philosophers opined that the existence of things were eternal, but others, believed in the non-existence of things.[242]

(12) The *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*[243] or the "Greater Discourse on the Lion's Roar" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that the Buddha stayed near Veśālī (Vaisālī) and Sunakkhatta, who was a son of a Licchavi, after leaving the *Saṁgha* spoke against the Buddha. Then the lion-like Buddha said that if anyone pondered over his teachings, than one would surely leave the world. Then Sāriputta told the Buddha that he was very powerful because he was the possessor of the ten powers and the four *vesārajjas* (four kinds of confidence).[244] Here is given an account of the ten powers:" (i) A *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really was the causal occassion as such and what was not causal occasion as such; (ii) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really was the acquiring of deeds for oneself, past, future and present, both in their causal occasion and their result; (iii) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really was the course leading to all bourns; (iv) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really was the world with its various and diverse features; (v) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as they really were the diverse characters of beings; (vi) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really was the higher or lower state of the faculties of other beings, of other persons; (vii) a *Tathāgata* comprehended as it really were the defilement of, the purification of, the emergence from attainments in meditation, the deliverances and concentration; (viii) a *Tathāgata* remembered with all modes and details his

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manifold former habitations, births; (ix) a *Tathāgata* with his divine vision, surpassing that of men, saw beings as they were deceasing and uprising and comprehended that beings were mean, excellent, comely, ugly, well-being, ill-going according to the consequences of their deeds; and (x) a *Tathāgata*, by the destruction of cankers, entered on and abided in freedom of mind, freedom through wisdom that was cankerless, having realised them here and now through his own super-knowledge". The four *Vesarajjas* were:" (i) a *Tathāgata* did not behold any ground on the statement about him made by a recluse, *brāhmaṇa*, god, Māra, or Brahmā that these matters were not fully awakened, although he claimed to be fully self-awakened; (ii) likewise he will not be shaken by the remark about him that these cankers were not utterly destroyed, although a *Tathāgata* claimed to be one whose cankers were destroyed; (iii) a *Tathāgata* was not disturbed by such remark as 'in following those things called stumbling-blocks, there was no stumbling-block at all', (iv) a *Tathāgata* also did not behold any ground on the statement made by a recluse, *brāhmaṇa*, god, *Māra* or Brahmā or anyone in the world that the *Dhamma*, taught by the *Tathāgata* for the sake of something specific, did not lead onward the deer of it to the complete destruction of anguish".

From this *sutta* we learn that the Buddha knew the various classifications of beings or various modes of life, the birth of beings, the *Nibbāna*, the mind of men and also the five different destinies of men.[245] The four modes of life were "(i) the mode of life originated from an egg was so-called some beings were produced breaking through an egg-shell; (ii) the mode of life originated from a womb was thus known because some beings were produced breaking through a membranous sheath; (iii) the mode of life originated from moisture was thus called because some beings were produced in rotting fish, corpses, rice or in dirty pool; (iv) the mode of life of spontaneous uprising was so designated because some gods and men were born in the *Niraya* Hell and sorrowful state respectively". The five destinies of men were: *Niraya* Hell, animal world, the realm of the departed ones, men and god. The Buddha referred to the eight kinds of assemblies which were assemblies of nobles, *brāhmaṇas*, householders, recluses, the retinue of the Four Great Regents, the thirty-three, the Retinue of Māra and the assemblies of Brahmās. The Buddha then told that he knew the Brahma-fearing which had

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four constituent parts: "he became an ascetic, the foremost ascetic; he became loathly, the foremost loathly one; he became a detester, the foremost detester; he became aloof, the foremost aloof one".

In this *sutta* the Buddha[246] mentioned some kinds of religious men who were recluses and *brāhmaṇas*. They believed that purification was possible with the help of food, offering, the fire rituals, ceremonies, abode etc.

(13) The *Mahādukkhakhandha Sutta*[247] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that the monks thought over the distinction between their school of thought and those of other sects and they met the Buddha. Like other religious sects Buddhism also taught subjects of desire. The Buddha told his disciples to ask questions relating to the pleasure of sense and escape from sensual pleasures before the ascetics of other sects. This *sutta*[248] says that the sensual pleasure brought lots of troubles because the kings fought and people quarrelled among themselves. So when there was no sensual pleasure, then happiness appeared.

This *sutta*[249] gives on account of some offences which were burglary, robbery, highway adultery etc., and by the penal law of ancient India they were punishable. This *sutta* also mentions several types of punishment for offences. They were[250] by flogging, by bastinade, by bludgeoning, by cutting off hands or feet, hands and feet, ear or nose, ears and nose, the tortures of the saucepan (the skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge), the *chauk*-shave or the lanthern ("the mouth was fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside — this torture was called the mouth of Rāhu because Rāhu, the *asura* was supposed at an eclipse to swallow the sun"), the wreath of fire ("the whole body was oiled before ignition but *māti* suggests a coronal of flames just as the next torture is localised to the hands"), the fiery hand, the hay-band ("From the neck downwards the skin was flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight. In the next torture the strips formed a kilt"), the bark-robe, the black-hart ("the victim was skewered to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh"), the meat-hooks ("the victims were slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons"), the pennies ("with a razor little discs of flesh

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were shaved off all over the body"), the pickle ("into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed with combs"), bolting the door ("the head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes"), or the palliasse ("the skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was as soft as a straw mattress"), or the offenders were sprayed with boiling oil, or the offenders were thrown to starved dogs to devour or the heads of the offenders were chopped off.

This *sutta*[251] also refers to several kinds of professions of the householders: *Muddā* ("conveyancing"), *Gaṇanā* ("accountancy"), *Saṅkhā* ("appraising"), *Kasī* ("agriculture"), *Vaṇijjā* ("trade and commerce"), *Gorakkhā* ("cattle breading"), *Issattha* ("soldiery"), *Rājaporisa* ("royal service"), clerk of the signet, estate-agent, surveyor, hard-manager, archer, and workers of the royal household.

(14) The *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta*[252] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that Mahānāma, the *Śākya* or *Sakiya*, met the Buddha and asked him: "How is it that thoughts for craving, hatred and delusion are the defilements of mind ?" Then the Buddha told him, "something has not been cast out and for this, such trouble comes to him again".[253] This *sutta* refers to the naked ascetics and the Buddha met them, and their teacher was Nātaputta or Nāthaputta. Many of them used to live on the Black Rock of Rājagha.[254] They believed that in their past life they did some bad deeds and for this reason they had to suffer and that suffering or happiness was attainable through the performance of their deeds in this very existence.[255] The Buddha gave them a discourse and told them about the life of a king and the ascetic life and they became happy.[256]

(15) The *Anumāna Sutta*[257] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* informs the monks that in some cases they should be careful. Mahā-moggallāna advised the monks that if any of them did not listen to the warnings of the fellow monks and did not follow the rules properly and for this reason he became a bad type of monk; then they neither mixed with him nor spoke to him. In this way they gave him punishment. This *sutta*, like the *Mahāvagga* and the *Pātimokkha*, gives an account of offences and their punishments.[258]

(16) The *Cetokhila Sutta*[259] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with

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five bolts of the heart. They were "the doubt about the teacher, the doubt about the doctrine or confraternity or the course of training with the lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertion and anger and displeasure towards fellows in the higher life".[260] The Buddha told his disciples that there were five mental enslavaments or five bondagas of the mind (*cetase vinibandhā*).[261] In order to achieve the highest goal every monk tried to liberate himself from these five bondages of the mind.[262] "Attachment to sensual pleasure, attachment to the body, attachment to the visible forms, if after eating as much as his belly will hold, a monk is fond of his chair or bed or of slumber, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertions. If a monk aspiring to belong to one of the deva communities practices morality saying unto himself that by practising this precept, vow, asceticism or austerity he would become a particular god, than his heart's bent is not towards ardour etc."[263] The Buddhist term "*cetokhila*" corresponds to the Jaina term "*dukkhasejjā*" which means "the thorny bed".[264] This *sutta* refers to some *Vinaya* rules.[265] It at the end mentions the four *iddhipādas*.

(17) The *Vanapattha Sutta*[266] or "Woodland Solitude" refers to a way of woodland solitude. In this *sutta* the Buddha told his disciples about a suitable place for the abode of a meditating monk. He described that the monks used to live in forests with an unbalanced mind and with an unsteady recollection.[267] These type of monks were not able to achieve noble things, because they never lived without necessities of life.[268] This *sutta* also refers to some *Vinaya* rules relating to clothing, food, bed, and medicaments.[269]

(18) The *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*[270] or the "Daily Morsel" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates that Daṇḍapāni, who was a *Śākya*, met the Buddha to know about his doctrine. The latter then told him that it was not possible for Brahmā and Māra to hold a doctrine which was held by him.[271] The Buddha then met his disciples who wanted to know the true nature of the Buddha's doctrine. He then gave an account of his doctrine in a nut-shell and told them that there was an end of all inclinations to passion, pride, doubts, ignorance and speculative ideas for a man if he did not adhere to absessions, whatever be the origin.[272] Mahākaccāna gave a talk on the psychological meaning of the sayings of the Buddha when

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he was asked by the monks to explain clearly the sayings of the Buddha.[273]

(19) The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta*[274] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the origin of the system of exposition and says that the system of *Abhidhamma* exposition was based on philosophical thought and explanation of the Buddha's sayings. It refers to the genesis of the *Abhidhamma* and the author was Mahākaccāna.[275] In it there is no reference to text. The Buddha said to his disciples that so long as he wanted to practise the habit of dividing things which gave rise to craving, ill-will and cruelty in his heart, he was unable to gain the highest object which he desired so much.[276] But when he engaged himself in thinking of renunciation and spent his time more on the thought of it, then the thoughts of craving, which arouse in his mind, disappeared.[277] He then advised them to engage themselves to meditation so that later on he would not repent.[278]

(20) The *Vitakkasanthāna Sutta*[279] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to discussions which brought about merit and mentions also discussions which brought about demerit, suffering etc. This *sutta*[280] says that he was called a true monk who was regarded as well-restrained in discussions when he discussed with one who wanted discussions with him and refused discussion with one who did not like to discuss with him.

(21) The *Kakacūpama Sutta*[281] or the "Parable of the Saw" of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, mentions that the Buddha in reproaching terms said to Moliya-phagguna and told him to avoid the company of the nuns (*bhikkhuṇīs*) and asked him to follow in a proper way the instruction of the senior monks. He then advised Moliya-phagguna to act and to behave like a person who was free from anger.[282] It was his duty not to give way to anger even when villainous robbers with the help of a two-handled saw carved him limb from limb.[283]

(22) The *Alagaddūpama Sutta*[284] or the "Parable of the Snake" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records Ariṭṭha who mentioned that the Buddha told something about hindrance but his teachings were not yet sufficient. The monks then played a role to correct him but they were not able to convince him.[285] When they failed, then they met the Buddha and told him about Ariṭṭha's remark.[286] The Buddha met Ariṭṭha and said to him that his teachings were quite

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sufficient and Ariṭṭha was unable to understand them and he was misguided.[287]

(23) The *Vammika Sutta*[288] or the "Parable of the ant-hill" of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that Kumāra Kassapa used to dwell in the Andhavana and at that time a certain spirit appeared before him and with the help of the Parable of a *Brāhmaṇa*, who was digging an ant-hill, kept some puzzles before him. Kumāra Kassapa expalined to him in detail and mentioned the practice of the *dhamma*.

(24) The *Rathavinīta Sutta*[289] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that Puṇṇa Mantāniputta and Sāriputta had a conversation and they discussed that the aim of the ascetic life of the monks was to attain the *Nibbana* and for this reason a monk had to pass various states of mind. There were seven stages which were mentioned as the systems of purifications. They were: "First, purity of life will take one as far as purity of heart and no further, and purity of heart takes one only up to purity of views. In the same way one will have gradually the purity by dispelling doubts, the purity by the fullest insight into paths, right and wrong, the purity by insight into the way by which to walk, and the purity which insight gives".[290]

(25) The *Nivāpa Sutta*[291] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha advised his disciples to avoid the five pleasures of senses in order to save themselves from the influence of Māra. If they were able to avoid themselves from the five pleasures of senses, then they would be able to liberate themselves from the hands of Māra. The Buddha[292] said to his disciples that a true monk was able to pass the range of vision of Evil One; he became a free monk who was able to liberate himself from sensual pleasures and wrong states of mind, and "abided in the first, second, third and fourth stages of meditation, the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, the plane of nothingness, the plane of neither perception nor non-perception and the plane where feeling and perception cease".

(26) The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*[293] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates one of the earliest legends of the early days of Buddhahood. It informs us that the search after truth and liberation were regarded as the Noble Quests and running after the worldly enjoyments was known as the Ignoble one. The Buddha in

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this *sutta* gave an account of his experiences in his early days, his role for turning the wheel of the Law and his activities which led to final emancipation. This *sutta* refers to the two recluses who were Ālāra Kālāma and Udaka Rāmaputta and Gotama met them before his enlightenment. Ālāra Kālāma was his teacher and Udaka Rāmaputta was mentioned as his fellow religious student.

(27) The *Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta*[294] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with the achievements of a Truth-finder. It describes that the Buddha had a talk with a *Brāhmaṇa* named Jānusseni.[295] It mentions that a truth-finder propagated his doctrine which brought good to all, and spoke of a higher life which was wholly complete and pure.[296] The head of a house or his son or by one of any other birth after hearing this doctrine renounced the worldly life and accepted the life of a monk, observed the small (*cūḷa*), middle sized (*majjhima*) and large (*mahā*) precepts or moralities (*sīlas*), was well-versed in this noble code of virtue and was able to control his faculties of sense, was able to occupy the most prominent position as a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he did. He dwelt in a lonely lodging.[297] His heart was set on mindfulness and his life was free from all evils. He took refuge in the four stages of Meditation.[298] This was regarded as the Truth-finder's footprint.[299] This *sutta* refers to the Buddha as the perfectly enlightened one, delivered his doctrine truly and his order moved in a right way.[300]

(28) The *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta*[301] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to the Buddha's disciple who was Sāriputta. The latter stated that "just as the foot of every creature that walks the earth will go into the Elephant's footprint which is pre-eminent for size, even so are all right states of mind comprised within the Four Noble Truths — ill, the origin of ill, the cessation of ill and the way leading to the cessation of ill".[302] Sāriputta then told the Noble Truth of ill or suffering and mentioned that the five attachments to existence which were visible, shapes feeling, perception, plastic forces, and consciousness were full of suffering.[303] He then explained the constituents of the attachments of visible shapes which were earth, water, fire and air and described that what was true of visible objects was equally true of sound, smell, taste, touch and mind.[304]

(29) The *Mahāsāropama Sutta*[305] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with Devadatta's secession from the *Saṁgha*. The Buddha told

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that there were some young men who outwordly were allured by the life of monks, left the household life. Because when they became monks, they received gifts, honour, respect and fame. But these things helped to please them and to satisfy their aspirations so much that they thereby became puffed up and they spoke ill of others. Thus they did not learn discipline and they were unable to do their duties in a disciplined way and they did not work properly and they suffered. But there were some young persons who moved in a right way and always followed the right path and they did not suffer.

(30) The *Cūḷasāropama Sutta*[306] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with a conversation that took place between the Buddha and Piṅgala Koccha who was a *Brāhmaṇa*. The former told that the reward of the higher life was not found in gifts, esteem and fame, nor in a life of virtue, nor in rapt concentration, nor in the mystic insight.[307] It was the immutable deliverance which was mentioned as the prize and the goal of the higher life.[308] The Buddha gave this reply to Piṅgala-Koccha. B.C. Law remarks,[309] "whether by reason of their own professed creed that all of the religious teachers, such as Purāṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kosa-Kambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta have, or have not, discerned truth or that some of them have discerned it, while others have not. In this *sutta* the Buddha simply reproduces verbatim what we get about these six teachers at *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I, pp. 142-44".

(31) The *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta*[310] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates that the Buddha praised Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila. They became free from evil desires and for this reason they occupied an important place which was above the ordinary worldly beings.

(32) The *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta*[311] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that in reply to the question about what type of monk illuminated the *Gosiṅga* wood, Ānanda then told that the monk who treasured and hoarded what he was taught and learnt by heart the ideas which referred to the higher life in all its perfection and purity. Revata[312] then spoke of one who enjoyed pleasure in meditation. Anurudha[313] mentioned one who was blessed with the celestial eye. Mahākassapa[314] referred to one who lived in the forest, recommended forest life and dwelt in solitude. Mahāmoggallāna[315] then gave an account of one who propagated a doctrine on the *Abhidhamma* with another monk in order to obtain edification on

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it. Sāriputta[316] then threw a flood of light on the life of one who was able to restrain his mind, controlled it properly and became well-known for the master of his mind and the Buddha[317] mentioned one whose heart was free from all evil desires.

(33) The *Mahāgopālaka Sutta*[318] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with eleven good or bad qualities of a monk, which either helped him to show or did not act to help him properly from showing progress in the doctrine and ceremonies. The Buddha[319] told that a monk who knew the four elements, understood what marked the activities of the fool and the deeds of the wise, was able to establish his control over the faculty of sight, went from time to time to learned monks to ask about the difficult points relating to the doctrine, acquired knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path, and showed keen interest in the activities of the experienced and senior monks, and progressed very satisfactorily in the doctrine. But a monk who was not a possessor of these qualities mentioned above was unable to show progress in the doctrine.

(34) The *Cūḷagopālaka Sutta*[320] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that those persons who listened to and had faith in the recluses and the *Brāhmaṇas*, who were wrong about this world and hereafter, who were wrong about what was and what was not the kingdom of Māra, who were wrong about what was and what was not the realm of Death, suffered much for it. But those persons, who followed properly the recluses and the *Brāhmaṇas*, who rightly understood this world and the next, the kingdom of Māra and Death, enjoyed happiness and prosperity for a long time.[321]

(35) The *Cūḷasaccaka Sutta*[322] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of a conversation between the Buddha and Saccaka, who was the son of a Jain woman and was the follower of Mahāvīra. He was a great controversialist, he thought of himself as a very learned person, he had a great fame and popularity and was respected by his followers.[323] According to him,[324] the 'soul' or 'self' of a man was found in the five *khandhas*. But the Buddha contradicted it and gave an account of the nature of the *khandhas*. He told that no one was able to control the *khandhas*, they were impermanent and they did not belong to the 'self'.[325]

(36) The *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*[326] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the Buddha's victory over Saccaka, who was a follower of Mahāvīra. He wanted to discredit the Buddha, his doctrine and

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his *Saṅgha*. From this *sutta* we learn that Mahāvīra (Niganṭha Nāthaputta) gave equal emphasis on the *monokamma* and *kāyakamma* because of the interaction of the body and mind. The Buddha said to Saccaka the way of practising meditation over the states of the body and those of the mind. He then referred to him, his experiences during the early days of his quest for enlightenment. The Buddha mentioned his experiences to reach the goal of his quest. "When this knowledge, this insight has arisen within me, my heart is set free from intoxication of lusts, set free from the intoxication of becomings, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me, thus emancipated, there arises the certainty of that emancipation. And I come to know — "Rebirth is at end. The higher life has been accomplished. After the present life there is no further for this or that". This last insight do I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance is beaten down, insight arises, darkenss is destoryed, the light appears, in as much I am there strenuous, earnest, master of myself". At the end Saccaka paid homage to the Buddha.

(37) The *Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*[327] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions a monk who was emancipated "by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, in his union with peace, and in the higher life, and foremost among gods and men". This *sutta* records the visit of Moggallāna, the Buddha's disciple, to Sakka's heaven, and with his toe the whole heavenly palace began to shake.

(38) The *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*[328] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that the Buddha delivered a discourse to a fisherman's son named Sati, who misunderstood the Buddha's teaching of the *dhamma*, believed that consciousness moved and continued without break of identity.

(39) The *Mahā-Assapura Sutta*[329] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of the qualities which were important for an ideal recluse. According to the Buddha,[330] an ideal recluse was conscientious and scrupulous, and was pure in his deeds, words and thoughts. He trained himself to guard the portals of the senses and was very moderate in food. He was very mindful and self-possessed and lived in solitude and sat in a charnel-ground with his mind engaged in mindfulness, and took refuge in four stages of meditation.

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(40) The *Cūḷa Assapura Sutta*[331] of the *Majjhim Nikāya* relates the recluse's regimen. A monk did not tread the recluse's path of duty.[332] He became free from greed, malice, wrath, revenge, hypocrisy, fraud and evil desires. One became a true monk because he was able to avoid all the evil qualities.[333] It is not good to think that by wearing yellow robes, by dwelling under a tree, by reciting the sacred texts and by keeping matted hair, one becomes a monk,[334] but a true monk was one who, by putting away the five hindrances and by destroying the cankers, took refuge in the four stages of meditation.[335]

(41) The *Sāleyyaka Sutta*[336] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the Buddha's exhortation to the *Brāhmaṇa* householders of Sāla which was a *brāhmaṇa* village of Kosala. From this *sutta* we learn that the Buddha convinced them of the truth of what he said and then referred to a list of all the gods of *Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka* and *Arūpaloka* in the proper order.[337] The Buddha then told that one had a good destiny because he had a holy life and an unholy life brought a bad destiny. A holy one took a birth of his own choice.

(42) The *Verañjaka Sutta*[338] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that the *Brāhmaṇas* from Verañja came to Sāvatthī for some business or for other purposes, and they met the Buddha, who gave them instructions and informed them about the truth and importance of his doctrine.

(43) The *Mahāvedalla Sutta*[339] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with questions and answers of some psychological topics, such as understanding, consciousness, feeling, perception, pure mental consciousness which were isolated from the five faculties of physical sense, eye of understanding, right outlook, types of rebirth and first *jhāna* or rapt musing or abstraction.

(44) The *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*[340] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that Dhammadinnā, a nun, gave reply to the questions of a lay woman named Visākhā on personality, the Noble Eightfold Path and the plastic forves (*saṁkhārā*). Dhammadinnā spoke of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, the ignorance of a static view of reality which was based on grasping the five *khandhas*, states of body as well as mind and then referred to the *nirodha-samāpatti* which was a *yogic* realisation of the cessation of the phsychic process.

(45-46) The *Cūḷadhammasamādāna Sutta* and the *Mahā-dhammasamādāna Sutta*[341] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mention that

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there were four ways to profess a doctrine. "The first is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter; the second is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being but also ripens to be pleasant thereafter".[342]

The *Cūḷadhammasamādāna Sutta* gives an account of a veritable pattern-card of ascetic abominations, and mentions several ascetics who belonged to various sects. It mentions the dog-ascetic, the ex-ascetic etc. The Buddha told that the dog-ascetic was reborn as a dog and the ex-ascetic was reborn as an ox.

(47) The *Vīmaṁsaka Sutta*[343] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that it was the duty of the enquiring monk to study the Truth-finder. The Buddha told it and mentioned that he used to search the heart of others. For two states of consciousness which appeared through eye and ear, he studied the Truth-finder.[344] He saw whether the revered man was restrained in fearlessness or through fear or whether it was solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschewed pleasures of senses and he was able to eradicate the passion.[345] By the foregoing researches, if anybody established his faith in the Truth-finder, then such faith was based on insight and reason.[346]

(48) The *Kosambiya Sutta*[347] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with disputes which were ripe in Kośāmbī among the monks relating to some rules of the *Vinaya*. The Buddha in order to bring peace and to establish harmony in the Buddhist *Saṅgha* delivered a discourse on amity and its root. He also spoke to them about the good effects of mutual understanding.

(49) The *Brahmanimantaṇika Sutta*[348] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says the Buddha's conversation with Baka the Brahmā, who opined that this world was permanent with no rebirth thence. The Buddha said to him the true fact relating to it. From this *sutta* we learn that Māra, who was regarded as the Evil One, wanted to conquer the Buddha and *Brahmā*, but he was unable to do so. At the beginning the behaviour of Brahmā was very bad and did not behave with the Buddha in a proper way. The latter pacified him and the Buddha was able to establish himself above all gods and above Brahmā.

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(50) The *Māratajjaniya Sutta*[349] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is mentioned as one of those early dialogues which gives an account of an episode of the Buddha and Māra. When Mahāmoggallāna was taking a walk in the open, *Māra* then entered his stomach and gave a sound. Mahāmoggallāna knew it and rebuked Māra for his heinous act and mentioned his previous life. With this *sutta* ends the first series of 50 *suttas*.

(51) The *Kandaraka Sutta*[350] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the Buddha told against practices of the ascetics. He discouraged an ascetic who tormented himself and discouraged another who tormented others and also discouraged another who tormented himself and others. But he spoke highly of that person, who tormented neither himself nor others, lived beyond appetites and in bliss and in happiness.

(52) The *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta*[351] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that Ānanda refers to various stages of *Nibbāna*. A monk became a free man by leaving all pleasures of senses and wrong states of consciousness and then he entered on and abided in the first, second, third and fourth *jhānas* or ecstacies or rapt musings.[352] He then pervaded the four quarters of the world with radiant good will, pity, sympathy and poised equanimity.[353] He crossed beyond perception of material objects, perception of sense-reactions and perception of differences and lived in the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness and the plane of nothingness.[354]

(53) The *Sekha Sutta*[355] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to a disciple of the Noble One who became virtuous, kept watch and ward over the portals of sense, was moderate in eating, was vigilant, established himself in the seven virtuous qualities, and at will he was successful to induce the four *jhānas* or rapt musings which transcended thought and gave happiness and prosperity in this existence.

(54) The *Potaliya Sutta*[356] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the nature of true-giving under the law of the Noble. It also says about abstention from killing, theft, lying, covetousness, calumny, taunts, anger and arrogance. It states that the pleasures of senses are full of suffering and torment and for this reaon it gives seven forceful illustrations which were bare and fleshless bone, a bird of prey, pit filled with glowing coals, a beautiful dream vision, a

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borrowed treasure and a tree laden with fruits.

(55) The *Jīvaka Sutta*[357] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives the Buddha's opinion about lawful and unlawful meats. According to the Buddha, a monk did not take meat under three circumstances: (1) when he saw, (2) when he heard, and (3) when he suspected that the animal was killed and was cooked for him. But, except these three cases, a monk was allowed by the Buddha to take meat.

(56) The *Upāli Sutta*[358] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the Buddha's conversation with Upāli, who was a follower of Niganṭha Nātaputta. The latter's disciples believed that there were three kinds of inflictions which not only affected but produced bad effect in person's deed, word and mind. They opined that those deeds were mentioned as the most criminal and they produced demerit, but the word and mind were not considered as serious and they were mentioned as less criminal.

(57) The *Kukkuravatika Sutta*[359] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the Buddha's prediction about the next birth of Puṇṇa Koliyaputta, who was a man of devine vow and of a naked ascetic named Seniya, who was a man of canine vow. The Buddha told that "the future state of these two persons was either purgatory or rebirth as an animal". He then referred to action which had four types: "(1) actions which were dark, with dark outcome, (2) actions which were bright with bright outcome, (3) actions which were both dark and bright with dark and bright outcome, and (4) actions which were neither dark nor bright, with an outcome neither dark nor bright, conducive to the destruction of *karma*". Puṇṇa Koliyaputta and Seniya then accepted Buddhism as their religion and the Buddha converted them.

(58) The *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta*[360] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of Abhaya-Rāja-Kumāra who was a son of King Bimbisāra and courtesan Padmāvatī. He was Niganṭha Nātaputta's disciple. He met the Buddha at Rājagaha and asked him about his statement relating to the unpleasant truth. He told him that when parents pulled out a pebble or stick which got into the mouth of their son even when blood come out so also he uttered an unpleasant truth at the proper time when occasion arose. He convinced Abhayarājakumāra who was then converted by the Buddha.

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(59) The *Bahuvedaniya Sutta*[361] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to various kinds of feelings. The Buddha told that the pleasures of senses were five in number. They were: material shapes relating to the eye, sound, smell, taste and touch. Every pleasant gratification which took its origin from these five pleasures of senses became known as sensual pleasure. But this was not regarded as the highest pleasure. Beyond this, there was a pleasure which was more excellent. Because a monk, who dwelt by the four *Jhānas* or rapt musings or ecstacies, plane of infinity of consciousness and plane of nothingness, enjoyed this pleasure.

(60) The *Apaṇṇaka Sutta*[362] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to soundness of the Buddha's doctrine. The Buddha delivered the doctrine to recluses and *brāhmaṇas* who had views which were quite opposite. He not only rejected their views but showed them the soundness of his doctrine.

(61) The *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta*[363] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses the deliberate falsehood. It describes the Buddha's discourses about lying. When anyone deliberately told a lie, then his religious life like a pot without water was meaningless. The Buddha condemned it and advised Rāhula for the attainment of purity in deed, word and thought by constant reflection. This *sutta* gives the Pāli counterpart of the tract mentioned in the Bhabru Edict of Aśoka under the title "*Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya Bhagavatā Buddhenā bhāsita*" "The *Rāhulovada* embodying the Buddha's discourses on the subject of falsehood".

(62) The *Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta*[364] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes Sāriputta's admonition to Rāhula to develop mindfulness and owing to proper inhaling and exhaling, i.e., breathing exercises, this development of mindfulness was possible.

(63) The *Cūḷa-Māluṅkya Sutta*[365] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that Mālunkyaputta was very much unhappy with the life of a recluse because the Buddha did not say anything to him about the various speculations relating to the past and present. The Buddha told that he did not deliver any discourse to him about them because they were irrelevant and they were useless for the attainment of higher life.

(64) The *Mahā-Māluṅkya Sutta*[366] of the *Majjhima Nikāya*

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mentions the Buddha's deals with the five bonds which were false view of individuality, doubt, affectation of rites, desire for sensual pleasures and malevolence which brought human beings to the lower life. The Buddha in order to destroy the five bonds referred to some measures.

(65) The *Bhaddāli Sutta*[367] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with the Buddha's admonition to Bhaddāli to obey and to act according to the Buddha's teachings, i.e., to follow the Buddhist way of life properly.

(66) The *Laṭukikopama Sutta*[368] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions some foolish people "who when told to give up something, think that it is a matter of no moment. They did not give it up. But this insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them fast".[369]

(67) The *Cātuma Sutta*[370] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the four terrors, which were temper, gluttony, the five pleasures of senses and women, did not await those who went from home to homelessness as monk in this doctrine and discipline.

(68) The *Nāḷakapāna Sutta*[371] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that a monk by tearing five bonds was born in the next birth in the heaven and from there he never came back to earth; he by tearing the three bonds was safe from future states of punishment, was "not to delude folk, nor to get for himself gains or fame nor to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples, dead and gone. It is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who on hearing this revelation, concentrates their whole hearts on becoming like these, for their own abiding good and welfare".

(69) The *Gulissāni Sutta*[372] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the duties of a monk who joined the Buddhist *Saṅgha* from the wilds and lived with the monks. Sāriputta said that such a monk in order to behave in a nice way showed respect and consideration to other monks in the higher life. He was very particular in the matter of seats, punctilious to displace neither senior nor junior monks, never visited the village at too early an hour, always kept watch over his faculties, was very moderate in his food and was steadfast in good will.

(70) The *Kīṭāgiri Sutta*[373] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an

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account of the Buddha's admonition to two monks for putting implicit faith in his religion. The Buddha told them that he had the knowledge to know what was good and what was bad and by his knowledge he avoided bad things and also by his knowledge he knew what those monks gave up.

(71) The *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta*[374] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that a wanderer named Vacchagotta held a wrong view about the lore which was possessed by the Buddha. Then the latter referred to him the threefold lore possessed by him. They were: he remembered his past existences, with celestial eye he saw creatures" in act to pass hence and to reappear elsewhere", and he destroyed his evil desires and obtained emancipation. He then told that among the *Ājīvakas* only one was able to go to heaven after death, and no one attained arahatship.

(72) The *Aggi-Vacchagotta Sutta*[375] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses events which led to Aggivacchagotta's conversion to Buddhism. Aggivacchagotta asked the Buddha several questions on the speculations about the past and the future. Aggivacchagotta was a wanderer. The Buddha understood that "these questions are but *ṭhapaniya-pañhas* or questions which he should shelve, not because he discourages vain, theoretical tangle and unsubstantial speculative thought, but because in admitting them as problems he will endanger his own position as a thinker".

(73) The *Mahāvacchagotta Sutta*[376] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that Vaccha requested the Buddha to mention him what was right and what was wrong and the Buddha explained to him and Vaccha was very happy to hear his explanation, and he acted up to the teachings of the Buddha and for his pious activities he became an *arahat*.

(74) The *Dīghanakha Sutta*[377] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha gave reply to Dīghanakha's questions and told him that those who were satisfied with all, gave an opinion which was allied to passion and pleasure. But there were people who were dissatisfied with all, maintained an idea which was allied to passionlessness and emancipation. Others again partly agreed with the former and partly with the latter view. In this connection the Buddha then delivered a discourse which led to emancipation.

(75) The *Māgandiya Sutta*[378] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that a wanderer named Māgandiya referred to the Buddha as a

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repressionist in an approbrious term. But the Buddha did not accept it and said that he was not so. Because he was able to subjugate the ear, nose, tongue, body, consciousness and their respective functions. He then expounded a doctrine which was related to the subjugation of these. He then told that the highest gain was obtained when all these objects were destroyed.

(76) The *Sandaka Sutta*[379] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to four types of unholy ways of living and four comfortless vocations. Ānanda gave an account of four kinds of unholy ways of living. They were (i) There was the teacher who opined that it did not matter whether actions were good or bad. (ii) There was the teacher who thought that he had not done any evil who either acted himself or caused another to act, who mutilated or caused another to mutilate. (iii) There was the teacher who held a view that there was no cause or reason for either depravity or purity. (iv) There was the teacher who held the *Sattākaya* doctrine. There were seven eternal elements in a being. All men made an end of ill only when they were able to finish their course of transmigration, like a ball of thread and the thread allowed it to roll as far as the thread permitted. The four comfortless vocations were (i) there was the teacher who became known as all-knowing and all-seeing. (ii) There was the teacher who expounded a traditional and scriptural doctrine. (iii) There was the teacher who was mentioned as a logician and he followed his path by his own reasoning. (iv) There was the teacher who behaved like an idiot and was not a clever person. These were regarded as false guides for the attainment of higher life.

(77) The *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta*[380] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses the key to pupil's esteem, i.e., a teacher's command relating to the respect of his disciples. In this *sutta* Sakuludāyi told the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities.

(78) The *Samanamaṇḍika Sutta*[381] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that a wanderer named Uggahamāna spoke of four qualities which characterised a triumphant recluse who had won all that was to be won. No evil was done by him; he did not think evil and he never lived in evil way. The Buddha thought that there were ten qualities which made a monk a triumphant recluse who was inspired with the right, who was best in the right and had won all that was to be won.

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(79) The *Cūḷasakuludāyi Sutta*[382] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the emptiness of the wanderer Sakuludāyi's tenets. Practically he had no clear idea about perfection and the Buddha mentioned the four ecstacies or rapt musings or abstraction and other states of consciousness. He then told the world of absolute bliss and gave the way for its realisation. Sakuludāyi then accepted Buddhism as his religion. From this *sutta* we learn that Mahāvīra thought that the four precepts and self-privation were regarded as the recognised paths for the attainment of the blissful state of the soul.

(80) The *Vekhanassa Sutta*[383] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses the emptiness of the tenets of a wanderer who was Vekhanassa. He had a very funny idea about the perfection. he was converted by the Buddha.

(81) The *Ghaṭikāra Sutta*[384] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the Buddha's talk with Ānanda and refers to Ghaṭikāra's devotion. Ghaṭikāra was a potter and he had a friend who was Jotipāla. Once they came to Kassapa, the Lord. Jotipāla wanted to become a monk when he heard the discourse expounded by the Lord himself. But it was not possible for Ghaṭikāra to renounce the worldly life because at that time he was supporting his aged blind parents. But he was a devout follower of the Lord Kassapa and in his devotion to him he surpassed all others and he was able to fulfil the duties of a Buddhist layman. Once Kiki, who was the king of Kāśī, invited the Lord Kassapa and the latter came to Kāsī after accepting his invitation. The king requested him to spend the *Vassvās* in his kingdom. But the Lord said to him that it was not possible for him to stay in his kingdom because he wanted to stay at Vehaliṅga under the care of Ghaṭikāra. He had already given his word to Ghaṭikāra. Kassapa then praised Ghaṭikāra for his devotion. At the end of this *sutta* the Buddha told that he was Jotipāla in the previous birth and he identified himself with him.

(82) The *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*[385] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that a true monk went from home to homelessness as a monk when he knew, saw and heard the four propositions which were mentioned by the Buddha himself. The four propositions were: (i) The world was in continual flux and change; (ii) the world was not a protector or preserver; (iii) the world owned nothing; (iv) the world was onslaved to craving and it lacked and hankered. When one due to old age, failing health, impoverishment and death of

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kinsfolk went forth from home to homelessness as a monk, then it was impossible to describe it as a true renunciation. Raṭṭhapāla was a young prince and he was converted to Buddhism and he became a Buddhist monk.

(83) The *Makhādeva Sutta*[386] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates that the king of Mithilā was Makhādeva. He sought the celestial pleasures and for this reason he left the worldly life. When his son enjoyed fully his worldly pleasures, he then renounced the world. Another king was Nimi. He also left the worldly life. But Janaka, who was Nimi's son, did not follow other kings and that was why, he broke this tradition.

(84) The *Madhura Sutta*[387] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of the superiority of the *brāhmaṇas*. In this *sutta* Mahākaccāyana said against the *brāhmaṇas* who told that the *brāhmaṇas* were superior to all people of other castes.

(85) The *Bodhirāja Kumāra Sutta*[388] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that a monk who had aptness and who showed his eagerness to learn, then he with the Truth-finder as a guide won the prize of prizes. The Buddha gave reply to Bodhi when the latter asked him a question about it.

(86) The *Aṅgulimātla Sutta*[389] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with taming and conversion of a bandit named Aṅgulimāla by the Buddha. Aṅgulimāla was a robber and he became a monk and afterwards he became an *arahat*.

(87) The *Piyajātika Sutta*[390] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* reveals that dear ones brought sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering and tribulation in various ways.

(88) The *Bāhitika Sutta*[391] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to a conversation between King Pasenadi and Ānanda on right and wrong behaviour. This *sutta* informs us that behaviour whether of act of word or of thought was wrong which was mentioned as blameworthy, malevolent, and which not only ripened into ill but which brought the harm either of one's self or of others or of both together; and that behaviour which was free from all evils was right.

(89) The *Dhammacetiya Sutta*[392] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that King Pasenadi praised the Buddha's doctrine. He told that there was always strife which went on between kings, nobles,

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brāhmaṇas, and householders and there was no peace at all, but the monks lived in peace, concord and harmony. There were *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* who were mentioned as "lean miserable creatures" but the monks were joyous persons. They were joyful people and they were free from worries and anxieties.

(90) The *Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta*[393] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to a conversation between the Buddha and King Pasenadi. The latter wanted to know something from the former about omniscience, purity of the four classes of nobles, *brāhmaṇas*, middle class people and peasants and about the supreme Brahmā. The king became very happy when he heard all these things from the Buddha. The latter said that at one and at the same time no *brāhmaṇa* knew and saw everything. He further told that a malign Brahmā returned to life on earth, but a benign Brahmā did not.

(91) The *Brahmāyu Sutta*[394] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of the thirty-two marks of a superman while the Buddha had a conversation with the *brāhmaṇs* Brahmāyu and his pupil Uttara. Here the Buddha told them that he possessed the thirty-two marks of a superman. Here is given an account of these marks: "(i) His tread is firmly planted; (ii) on his soles are the wheels, complete with a thousand spokes and with felloes and hubs; (iii) his heels project; (iv) his digits are long; (v) he has soft hands and feet; (vi) his fingers and toes spring clean, without webbing between them; (vii) his ankles are over the exact middle of his tread; (viii) his legs are like an antelope's; (ix) while standing bolt upright, he can, without bending, touch and rub his knees with both hands at once; (x) his privities are within a sheath; (xi) golden of hue is he; (xii) so fine in his skin's texture that no dust or dirt can lodge on it; (xiii) each several hair on his body grows separate and distinct, each from its own individual pore; (xiv) each hair starts straight, is blue-black like collyrium, and curls to the right at the tip; (xv) he is as straight as a die; (xvi) his body shows the same convexities; (xvii) his chest is like a lion's; (xviii) his back is flat between the shoulders; (xix) his proportions are those of the banyan tree — his stretch being the same as his height; (xx) the curve of his shoulders is symmeterical; (xxi) his sense of taste is consummate; (xxii) he has the jaw of a lion; (xxiii) he has forty teeth; (xxiv) his teeth are all the same length; (xxv) there are no interstices between his teeth; (xxvi) his teeth are sparkling white;

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(xxvii) his tongue is big; (xxviii) his voice is melodious as the cuckoo's note; (xxix) the pupils of his eyes are intensely dark; (xxx) his eyelashes are like a cow's; (xxxi) between his eyebrows grow soft white hair like cotton-down; and (xxxii) his head is shaped like a turban".

(92) The *Sela Sutta*[395] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that a *brāhmaṇa* called Sela after observing the thirty-two marks in the body of the Buddha, became a follower of the Buddha and took refuge in the Buddha, *Damma* and the *Saṅgha*.

(93) The *Assalāyana Sutta*[396] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates that the Buddha spoke against the views of the *brāhmaṇas* who thought that they were superior to all other castes. It refers to the Yona-Kamboja region where the caste-system did not exist. The Buddha asked Assalāyana many questions relating to the caste-system and the supremacy of the *brāhmaṇas* in respect of caste but the latter gave his reply in the affirmative. From this discussion it is clear that he accepted the Buddha's views and agreed that *brāhmaṇas*' claim for their superiority was not based on solid foundation.

(94) The *Ghoṭamukha Sutta*[397] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that a Buddhist monk named Udena was able to convince Ghoṭamukha about the inefficiency of self-torture.

(95) The *Caṅkī Sutta*[398] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha said against the *brāhmaṇas* who claimed that the *brāhmaṇas* were superior to all other castes.

(96) The *Esukāri Sutta*[399] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records that the *brhmaṇa* Esukāri thought that the birth was the criterion of the division of people. But the Buddha never accepted it.

(97) The *Dhānañjāni Sutta*[400] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* narrates that a *brāhmaṇa* named Dhānañjāni was unable to show his zeal in his pious works. He was not an energetic person in his religious activities. Sāriputta told him about the merit of pious acts. This *sutta* throws flood of light on the various grades of gods which were Cātummahārājika, Tāvatimsa, Yama, Tusita, Nimmānarati, Paranimmitavasavatti and also the *Brahmaloka* and its gods.

(98) The *Vāsettha Sutta*[401] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* reveals the qualities of a real *brāhmaṇa*. From this *sutta* we learn that the Buddha said this matter to the *brāhmaṇas* who were Vāsettha

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and Bharadvāja.

(99) The *Subha Sutta*[402] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to a conversation which took place between the Buddha and Subha, the *brāhmaṇa*. The latter was the son of Todeyya. In this *sutta* the Buddha discussed the *Brahmā-sahavyatā* or the real union with Brahmā, and his idea and the realisation of Brahmā. He stated further that if any person wanted his union with Brahmā, then it was his duty to practise and to observe properly the *jhāna*-practices and also all moral qualities which were related to the four *Brahma-vihāras*. These four *Brahma-vihāras* were friendliness, compassion, soft-heartedness and equanimity.

(100) The *Saṅgārava Sutta*[403] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the young *brāhmaṇa* Saṅgārava rebuked the *brāhmaṇa* lady Dhānañjāni for praising the Buddha. After some time when the Buddha met Saṅgārava he then told him that he realised a doctrine and by his insight he was able to reach the goal. He obtained perfection and knew the conditions which were mentioned here as foundations on which the higher life was based. Saṅgārava knew from the Buddha that there were gods. With this *sutta* closes the middle series of fifty *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.

(101) The *Devadaha Sutta*,[404] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives the views of the *Niganṭhas* who were the followers of Mahāvīra. According to the *Niganṭhas*, whatever experiences, the individual had all came from former actions. Thus by expiration of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, ultimately one was able to make himself free from evils. The Buddha condemned their views and told them that their doctrine was based on assumption. Because they thought that in former existences, individuals committed misdeeds and they then upheld their identity. This *sutta* refers to ten beliefs of the *Niganṭhas*. But the Buddha mentioned them as irrelevant.

(102) The *Pañcattaya Sutta*[405] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the various schools of thought. The Buddha told that the various schools of thought made various assertions about futurity. According to some, the self was conscious after death. But others never believed this. Some thought the theory of annihilation of the existing creatures. But others did not accept it. The Buddha did not accept such speculation about the future existences of living

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beings.

(103) The *Kinti Sutta*[406] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that the Buddha's admonition towards his disciples. The Buddha told that the monks trained themselves in the higher lore, namely mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), five forces or potentialities (*bala*), five-fold sphere of sense (*indriya*) and in unity and harmony without any quarrel. He further mentioned that when there was any quarrel between a monk and another or when a monk was guilty of offence, then they settled it amicably.

(104) The *Sāmagāma Sutta*[407] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* reveals that the Buddha gave a talk on unity and concord. The disciples of Niganṭha Nāthaputta quarrelled among themselves after the death of their teacher Niganṭha Nāthaputta. Ānanda referred this matter to the Buddha. The latter then delivered a discourse and mentioned six conciliatory conditions which were important for the establishment of unity and concord among the disciples of Niganṭha Nāthaputta. This *sutta* gives an account of the wandering teachers. From it we learn that Niganṭha Nāthaputta, who was known as Mahāvīra, predeceased Buddha by a few years. This *sutta* is mentioned as a *Vinaya* tract on the *Adhikaraṇasamatha*.

(105) The *Sunakkhatta Sutta*[408] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives a conversation between the Buddha and Sunakkhatta. The latter asked the Buddha "whether the *bhikkhus* professed all they had really won or extravagant in their professions". The Buddha then told him: "If a *bhikkhu* is in full control of his six sense-organs to see in attachments the root of ill, and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in removing attachments, such a *bhikkhu* cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments".

(106) The *Āṇañjasappāya Sutta*[409] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha told the true nature of permanence. He then referred to the several paths which showed the way to permanence, e.g., the subjugation of the pleasures of senses by developing the heart. With this *sutta* closes the second volume of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.

(107) The *Gaṇaka Moggallāna Sutta*[410] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of an important discussion between the Buddha and Moggallāna, the *brāhmana* mathematician. This *sutta* says that the brahmanical training "was a thoroughly graduated

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system" (*anupubbasikkhā anupubbakiriya*). The Buddha told that the system of learning and training which was introduced by him in Buddhism also gave an idea of graduation, but this *sutta* indicates that "graduation in the case of Buddhism was suggested duly by expediency".

(108) The *Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta*[411] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions a conversation which took place between Ānanda and Gopaka Moggallāna and reveals the fortification of the city of Rājagaha by King Ajātasattu of Magadha for fear of an attack from King Pajjota of Avanti after the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha. Gopaka was a *brāhmaṇa*-minister of Ajātasattu and his clan name was Moggallāna. Ānanda said to Gopaka that after the demise of the Buddha the *Saṅgha* was not unprotected. Becuase the *Dhamma* played an important role for its protection and the Pātimokkha was there to play a prominent part for the maintenance of discipline in the *saṅgha.* Vassakāra, the chief minister of Ajātasattu and Upananda, the commander-in-chief of Magadha discussed with Ānanda and praised the Buddha and his disciples. Then Ānanda told that there were some monks who were revered and respected for their commendable qualities but there was not a single monk who in every way was like the Buddha. They did not possess all the qualities which were possessed by the Buddha. Ānanda then said that the Buddha did not certify all types of *jhānas.* This *sutta* discusses ten pleasing qualities: "(1) observance of moral rules, (2) learning (3) contentment, (4) mastery of the four *jhānas*, (5) supernormal powers, (6) power of the Divine Ear, (7) knowledge of the thoughts and inclinations of other beings, (8) knowledge of one's own previous existences, (9) power of the Divine Eye, and (10) knowledge of the destruction of āsavas". The Buddha referred to a path and advised his disciples to follow it.

(109) The *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta*[412] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to the view of personality. It says that an uninstructed ordinary man, who did not know the Noble Ones and was not well-versed and was not trained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones, who had no idea of the Exalted Ones, and was not versed and was not trained in the doctrine of the Exalted Ones, held "form as self or self as possessing form or form in self or self in form. He did the same with feeling and perception, with the constituents and with consciousness". But the Buddha never accepted this view.

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(110) The *Cūḷapuṇṇama Sutta*[413] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the Buddha who told that "a bad man was bad in his nature, nurtured on bad, bad in his thoughts, speech, doings, views, resolves and in distribution of alms". He then described that "a good man was good in his nature, nurtured on good, good in his thoughts, aims, speech, doings, views and in the distribution of alms". The monks became happy to hear the Buddha's discourse.

(111) The *Anupada Suta*[414] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the Buddha who praised Sāriputta for his vast learning and he also said that *Sāriputta's* understanding was vast. He was able to train himself through the complete course of training which was introduced by the Buddha. He was "consummate in rolling onwards the peerless wheel of the doctrine which the Truth-finder first set rolling".

(112) The *Chabbisodhana Sutta*[415] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* relates the six-fold scrutiny by which a monk knew whether one was justified in mentioning that there was rebirth no more and that he lived the highest life. The Buddha told that a monk saw by what manner of ken and vision one's heart was absolutely free from cankers" with regard to the domain of vision, of hearing, of taste, of smell, of touch and of apprehension".

(113) The *Sappurisa Sutta*[416] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to the attitude of the good man and of the bad man.

(114) The *Svetabba-Asevitabba Sutta*[417] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records what one should cultivate and what one should not cultivate. The Buddha told that behaviour in act, speech and thought was not cultivated and for this reason wrong ideas and manners became prominent and good ideas and proper conduct were avoided. He then said to his disciples that for the avoidance of wrong dispositions, and for the development of proper and good conduct, one cultivated behaviour in act, speech and thought.

(115) The *Bahudhātuka Sutta*[418] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that the Buddha admonished his disciples to study in various ways for training themselves to increase their knowledge.

(116) The *Isigili Sutta*[419] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the names of those *Pacceka-Buddhas* who used to live on the Mount Isigili, one of the five hills which surrounded Rājagaha, the capital

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of Magadha.

(117) The *Mahācattārisaka Sutta*[420] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to right concentration or *sammā samādhi*. Here the Buddha said to his disciples that among the systems of right concentration right view was mentioned as first.

(118) The *Ānāpanasati Sutta*[421] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives an account of breathing exercises.

(119) The *Kāyagatāsati Sutta*[422] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to meditation on the body. The Buddha discussed it and said to his disciples,"how is mindfulness of the body cultivated and developed so as to abound in fruit and blessings?"

(120) The *Saṁkhāruppatti Sutta*[423] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* reveals the causes of the rise of the plastic forces (*Saṁkhāras*). The Buddha mentioned it to his disciples.

(121) The *Cūḷasuññata Sutta*[424] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to true solitude. The Buddha gave an account of it to his disciples.

(122) The *Mahāsuññata Sutta*[425] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* throws flood of light on the nature of true solitude and the Buddha had a talk on it with his disciples.

(123) The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta*[426] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the wonderful and marvellous events of the Buddha's life. Ānanda gave an account of them. This *sutta* refers to the birth of Bodhisattva with all the miracles.

(124) The *Bakkula Sutta*[427] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of a record of a saint. Bakkula had a talk with Accelakassapa and told him that during his 80 years of monkhood no sin was committed by him and he led a very pure life.

(125) The *Dantabhūmi Sutta*[428] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the Buddha's talk relating to discipline. He described that it was not possible for person who led a life of enjoyment and pleasure to know or see or realise what became known by renouncing the worldly life. If he wanted to gain something what one obtained by renouncing worldliness, then it was his duty to lead a life under proper guidance and training.

(126) The *Bhūmija Sutta*[429] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that in order to obtain the results of higher life, right outlook was

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necessary. The Buddha referred it to his disciples. A monk was not able to reach the goal of his life when he did not follow his path in the right way.

(127) The *Anuruddha Sutta*[430] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* shows a conversation which took place between the Venerable Anuruddha and the carpenter Pañcakaṅga. Here Anuruddha gives an account of boundless deliverance and vast deliverance of the heart. When a monk lived with radiant thoughts of love pervading all the quarters of the world, the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere, he then cultivated the deliverance of the heart which was boundless. Again, when a monk pervaded and imbued a single tree with the idea of vastness, he then followed the vast deliberance of heart. Anuruddha then explained the four states of rebirth to the assemblies of the *Parittābhā* gods, the *Appamānābhā* gods, the *Saṅkiliṭṭhābhā* gods and the *Parisuddhābhā* gods.

(128) The *Upakkilesa Sutta*[431] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of strife which arose among the monks who belonged to Kośāmbī. The Buddha tried to bring a peaceful solution for it. But he became unsuccessful. He then left the place and retired somewhere. He then warned Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila "to do away with the blemishes which made the mental reflex (*nimitta*) fade away".

(129) The *Bāla-Paṇḍita Sutta*[432] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the Buddha referred to men, who were wise and fool.

(130) The *Devadūta Sutta*[433] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the warning messangers of the heaven. The Buddha told that King Yama punished these persons who did many evil things in the world.

(131) The *Buddekaratta Sutta*,[434] (132) the *Ānanda-Bhaddekaratta Sutta*,[435] (133) the *Mahākaccāna-Bhaddekaratta Sutta*,[436] and (134) the *Lomasakaṅgiya-Bhaddekaratta Sutta*[437] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mention the Buddha who gave much importance on not having much to do with the past and the future, but on that which concerned oneself mainly with what was immediately present.

(135) The *Cūḷakamma Vibhaṅga Sutta*[438] and (136) the

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Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta[439] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* record the young *brāhmaṇa* Todeyyaputta who asked the Buddha about the causes for which some human beings became either high or low. The Buddha told him that their activities were regarded as their possessions, and heritage, their parents, their kindered and their refuge, and he described further that their deeds played a great role in it and these deeds practically made the beings into high and low.

(137) The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta*[440] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with the six spheres of sense. This *sutta* is mentioned as the *sutta* counterpart of the *Abhidhamma* exposition of *āyatanas* in the *Vibhaṅga.*

(138) The *Uddesa Vibhaṅga Sutta*[441] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions Mahākaccāna who told that an almsman's thinking "should always be so conducted that, as he thinks, his mind may not either be externally diffused and dissipated or be internally set, and that through non-dependence he way be imperturbed, so that, with his mind thus secure, birth, old age, and death and the arising of all ill do not happen".

(139) The *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta*[442] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with detailed exposition of calmness. The Buddha told his disciples about it. A person neither gave himself over to pleasures of senses nor gave himself over to self-mortification. It was his to follow the Noble Eightfold Path for his emancipation. It can be mentioned here as complete deliverance.

(140) The *Dhātu Vibhaṅga Sutta*[443] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of the Buddha who had a conversation with the revered Pakkusāti. The former told him the six elements which were earth, water, fire, air, space and consciousness.

(141) The *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta*[444] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discusses the four Noble Truths which were *dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha* and *dukkhanirodhagāmini-paṭipadā,* and the Noble Eightfold path which were right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*), right thoughts (*sammāsaṁkappo*), right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammā-kammanto*), right living (*sammā-ājīva*), right exertion (*sammāvāyāma*), right recollection (*sammāsati*), and right meditation (*sammā samādthi*).

(142) The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta*[445] of the *Majjhima Nikāya*

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deals with an analysis of alms-giving. The Buddha told that donations to individuals had fourteen grades — a Truth-finder, *Arahat*, All-Enlightened, *Pacceka-Buddha*, *Arahat* disciples of Truth-finder, one who not yet reached the final stage of a perfected *Arahat*, but one who was on the way to become a perfected *Arahat*, one who never took his birth again on the earth, and so on.

(143) The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta*[446] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* presents an account when Anāthapindika became very ill, he then asked a man to go and to meet the Buddha and the venerable Sāriputta and told him to bow his head at their feet and to give them a news about his serious illness and to inform them that he bowed his head at their feet. When Sāriputta received this news he came to Anāthapiṇḍika's house with Ānanda. Sāriputta then instructed him that the lay-person was not regarded as a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and mind. He was not a creature of the elements such as earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness and was not a creature of the plastic forces, of the realm of infinity of space, of the realm of nothingness and of the realm of neither perception nor non-perception. After giving his instruction, Sāriputta left the home of Anāthapiṇḍika with Ānanda. They did not go very far when Anāthapiṇḍika died and went to the *Tusita* heaven.

(144) The *Channovādo Sutta*[447] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records Channa's suicide. Channa fell ill and it was very serious. He then wanted to commit suicide and Sāriputta told him not to commit suicide. But Channa did not take any notice of it and killed himself by using a knife.

(145) The *Puṇṇovāda Sutta*[448] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the Buddha's advice to Puṇṇa when the latter asked him that after listening to the Buddha's doctrine he wanted to live alone and aloof, strenuous and purged of self. How was it possible for him? The Buddha told him that he was a very strong-minded person and he was always in his own way. He clearly understood the real meaning of the *jhāna*-musing, and he lived in 'lokuttara' which was beyond this world.

(146) The *Nandakovāda Sutta*[449] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that Nandaka gave a discourse to the Buddhist nuns on the impermanency of sight, forms, and six groups of perception.

(147) The *Cūḷarāhulovāda Sutta*[450] of the *Majjhima Nikāya*

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presents the Buddha's admonition to Rāhula who had already obtained perfection and developed good qualities which helped him to attain deliverance (emancipation) and to eradicate the cankers. He then told him about material things which did not last for a very long time.

(148) The *Chachakka Sutta*[451] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to six sixes. They were-six internal senses (senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind), six external sense-objects (forms, sounds, odours, savours, touch and mental objects), six groups of preceptions (sight and forms, hearing and seconds, smell and odours, taste and sevours, touch and tangible objects, mind and mental objects), and six groups of cravings.

(149) The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta*[452] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha gave his instruction to the Buddhist monks in the import of the six great domains of sense which were the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smell, the sense of taste, the sense of touch, and the sense of understanding.

(150) The *Nagaravindeyya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[453] gives an account of the Buddha's visit to Nagaravinda which was mentioned as a *brāhmaṇa* village of Kosala. The *brāhmaṇas* of that village met the Buddha who told them about the different types of recluses and *brāhmaṇas* who received or did not receive honour, reverence and devotion. The Buddha described further that those recluses and *brahmaṇas* received honour because they became free from lust in connection with the six domains of sense.

(151) The *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta*[454] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* tells us that the Buddha mentioned the perils of the daily round for alms.

(152) The *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta*[455] of the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that the Buddha discussed the culture of faculties. He found something wrong in the brahmanical culture of the faculties. Because it was practised when a man neither saw forms with his own eyes nor heard sounds with his own ears. But the rule of the Noble described that it was practised when a monk showed his indifferent attitude to something which was agreeable or disagreeable and which brought results either from his observing forms with his eyes or from his hearing sounds with his ears. With this *sutta* closes the last volume of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.

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THE SAṀYUTTA NIKĀYA

The *Sutta Piṭaka*'s third *Nikāya* is the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*.[456] According to Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, it is "Grouped *Suttas*" or "the Book of the kindered Sayings". It is mentioned as "a compilation of *suttas* with their main bearings on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems".[457] Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in the preface to the *Book of the Kindered Sayings*, part I, pp. v-viii describes that the *suttas* of these collections are concise prose-discourses.[458] She mentions further that "the mass of these little *suttas*, slight and concise sketches, with the verses which sum them up, or which, they, the *suttas*, explain — many of them very poor poetry as such — dealing with legends of fairies, gods, and devils, with royal and priestly interviewers of the sublime teacher, may seem a tantalising jungle to the traveller bound for the hills of thought more austere. But let him enter with open mind and sympathetic imagination awake. So will he wander not unrewarded. He will find himself for the most part in a woodland of faerie, opening out here on a settlement of religious brethren, there on scenes of life in rural communities such as might well be met in India of today or indeed in other countries. Mythical and folk-lore drapery are wrapped about many of the sayings here ascribed to the Buddha. Nevertheless, the matter of them is of the stamp of the oldest doctrine known to us, and from them a fairly complete synopsis of the ancient *dhamma* might be compiled. And, short and terse as are the presentations of both sayings and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual inquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures".[459]

The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has fifty-six groups (*Saṁyuttas*). There are five *vaggas* which divide them. These five *vaggas* are *Sagāthavagga*, *Nidānavagga*, *Khandhavagga*, *Saḷāyatanavagga* and *Mahāvagga*. The *Vaggas* are so-called after the name of the first in the group or the interlocutor's name. The *Sagāthavagga* has eleven *Saṁyuttas*, the *Nidānavagga* consists of ten, the *Khandhavagga* contains thirteen, there are ten in the *Saḷāyatanavagga* and the *Mahāvagga* refers to twelve only. *Māra* and the *Bhikkhuṇi Saṁyuttas*, which we mentioned as ballads in mixed prose and verse, have occupied an important place in the

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saṁyutta Nikāya because they are work of great poetical merit. They are "but sacred ballads, counterparts of those *ākhyānas* with which the epic poetry of the Indians originated". It is known that on the basis of three principles — (1) those that mention Buddhist Doctrine, (2) those that give an account of gods, men, and demons, and (3) those that describe very famous persons, the arrangement of the *suttas* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has taken place. The first *Vagga* deals with ethics and the Buddhist monks' ideal life, but the remaining *vaggas* speak of metaphysics and epitemology. It is to be noted here that the *Saṁyutta Nikaya* describes subjects which mention ethical, moral and philosophical matters.

(I) The *Sagāthavagga*

(1) The *Devatā Saṁyutta*[460] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has eight chapters. It deals with certain *devatās* or gods who asked the Buddha several questions and the latter replied to their questions which were related to the end of the four-fold wave of craving for sensual pleasures, rebirth, erroneous opinions and ignorance — begotten desires. He also told them how one obtained emancipation or deliverance from sin and got detachment from misery and sorrow by doing away with the lust and from the five *khandhas* or aggregates.

(2) The *Devaputta Saṁyutta*[461] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has three chapters which discuss some questions of certain *devaputtas* or sons of the gods who asked the Buddha and the latter gave his reply. The latter said that when one wanted to lead a happy life in this world, he gave up wrath and took the company of good men.

(3) The *Kosala Saṁyutta*[462] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has three chapters and it records twenty-five anecdotes which were related to King Pasenadi of Kosala. From this *saṁyutta* we learn that for the king a great sacrifice was arranged but the king became a devotee of the Buddha. It then describes that a war broke out between King Ajātasattu of Magadha and King Pasenadi of Kosala for the possession of Kāśi. The latter defeated the former in this battle but he not only gave Kāśi to the former but he also gave his daughter Vajirā in marriage to him, and made him his son-in-law.

(4) The *Māra Saṁyutta*[463] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has three

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chapters and twenty-five *suttas*. It describes the Buddha's encounter with Māra, the Evil One. When the Buddha attained enlightement, Māra did his best to disrupt his holy life. In order to disturb him he himself took the form of a king-elephant, and also the appearance of a king of the snakes and came very near to the Buddha. He also hurled huge rocks from the crest of the hill, but this incident did not disturb the Buddha. Although those rocks fell incessantly, they crushed against each other. Māra also told the householders of Pañcasāla not to give alms to Gotama the recluse. But he was not successful, and he was unable to disturb the religious activities of the Buddha and his disciples.

(5) The *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁyutta*[464] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* deals with ten legends of nuns (*bhikkhuṇī*). It says that Gotamī, Uppalavaṇṇā, Vajirā and several other nuns were disturbed by Māra and he tried to stop them from following the Buddha's path which led to the attainment of enlightenment. He came in disguise before them and those nuns were able to recognise him and he was unsuccessful. He felt sorry for his failure and he went away.

(6) The *Brahma Saṁyutta*[465] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* says that Brahmā requested the Buddha to propagate the doctrine. After his enlightenment the Buddha at first did not like to preach his doctrine. It was due to Brahmā Sahampati he changed his mind. The former requested him to propagate his doctrine so that the people of this world would be benefitted by following it properly. After listening to his request, the Buddha became happy and gave his consent to preach his doctrine to the populace.

(7) The *Brāhmaṇa Saṁyutta*[466] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to the conversions of Bhāradvāja *brāhmaṇa* and some other *brāhmaṇas*, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. Dhanañjāni *Brāhmaṇī*, who was a wife of Bhāradvāja *Brāhmaṇa*, became a devotee of the Buddha. Bhāradvāja once met the Buddha and he was glad to listen to the discourses delivered by the latter and he was so much influenced by him that he not only renounced the worldly life but he also became a devout follower of the Buddha. On seeing his conversion to buddhism, other *brahmins* of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* accepted Buddhism as their religion.

(8) The *Vaṅgīsa Saṁyutta*[467] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* mentions Vaṅgisa, the *thera*, who controlled his passion. When he was a novice, he used to stay with his preceptor the venerable

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Nigrodha-Kappa at the chief *vihāra* of Āḷavi. At that time some women visited the *vihāra*. When he saw them discontent appeared in him and lust disturbed his heart. He knew the evils and soon he was able to make himself free from disaffection.

(9) The *Vana Saṁyutta*[468] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* discusses that some forest gods showed the right path to certain monks who did not follow properly the rules and regulations relating to discipline of the Buddhist *Saṁgha* and they transgressed them. It is known from the *sutta* that a monk used to stay with the Kosala people in a certain forest region. He did not behave in a proper way. Because his mind was busy with wrong and evil thoughts which had connection with worldly matters. A god, who visited the forest at that time, showed his great kindness towards him and advised him to follow the right path and asked him to leave the path which was wrong.

(10) The *Vakkha Saṁyutta*[469] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* records the Buddha who lived in the house of *Yakkha* Indaka in the Indakūṭa mountain. He told the Buddha: "Form is not living principle in the opinion of the Buddhas. How does the soul possess this body? Whence to soul does come the lump of bones and liver? How does this soul hide within the belly?" The Buddha then gave his reply: "At first the Kalala takes birth and thence the abbuda and so forth". Sakka was a *Yakkha*. He met the Buddha when the latter lived in the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and told him: "A monk is free from all ties, is one who instructs others in the *dhamma*. He who instructs others in the *dhamma* with a compassionate mind is in no way bound, compassion moves him and sympathy". Suciloma was a *Yakkha*. He said to the Buddha, "Don't be afraid, Oh *Samaṇa*". The latter told, "I am not afraid, contact with you is sinful". The *Yakkha* then asked him: "Say, wherefore passion and hatred are caused, discontentment, delight and terror — whence have they come, wherefrom spring thoughts into the mind". The Buddha then gave his answer: "They who know self and where from it rises, they crush it down, listen to me, O *Yakkha*, they cross this flood which is difficult to be crossed; so they may never come back again rebirth". Maṇibhadda was a *yakkha*. He met the Buddha when he was staying at his house. He said: "Luck always comes to him whose mind is alert, he prospers with increasing happiness. Tomorrow is a better day for him and he is free from enemity". The Buddha then gave his

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reply: "For him whose mind ever by night and day is given up to hatred, is not released from all hate; he who takes delight in harmlessness and kindness, bearing his share in love for all that lives in him no hate is found". This *sutta* then gives accounts of the *yakkha* who took the possession of a certain female lay devotee's child Sānu, the *yakkhini* who became known as mother of Piyaṅkara, the *yakkhini* called Punabhasu's mother, Sivaka, the *yakkha* and two *yakkhas* who took keen interest in the affairs of *bhikkhunis* who were Sukkā and Vīrā or Cīrā.

(11) The *Sakka Saṁyutta*[470] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* records in three chapters the story of Sakka, who, by his meritorious acts, occupied the throne of the world of the thirty-three gods as king. A war took place between the gods and the *asuras*. It is known that the gods defeated the *asuras* and they captured their ruler who was Vepacitti. The latter abused Sakka in filthy language when he was brought before him, but Sakka knew that he was a foolish person so he acted in that way which was not against him. Although he insulted him, but he kept quiet. This *saṁyutta* refers to some qualities which indicates that Sakka was a great and a good-hearted ruler.

(II) The *Nidāna Vagga*

(1) The *Nidāna Saṁyutta*[471] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has nine chapters and ninety-two speeches and conversations. It discusses the twelve *Nidānas*. The Buddha said to the monks that chain of causation began with *avijjā* or ignorance and ended with birth, old age, and death which led to grief, lamentation, suffering and despair. He also told that the four sustenances were material food, contact, volition and consciousness and the bases of knowledge were knowledge that decay-and-death was conditioned by birth, knowledge that where birth was not, there was no decay-and-death, etc., knowledge "in the nature of decay-and-death, in its uprising, its ceasing, and in the way leading to its ceasing, knowledge in the nature of birth, becoming, grasping, craving, feeling, contact, sense, etc., knowledge in the uprising and ceasing of each, and knowledge in the way leading to their ceasing".

(2) The *Abhisamaya Saṁyutta*[472] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to the Buddha who told that for the *Ariyan* disciple it was regarded as the greater evil act to think that little was the evil that existed when measured with the former evil. This type of disciples

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never ceased to try to act in such a way which helped to make an end to little evil that still existed, otherwise it was not possible for him to obtain a perfect vision.

(3) The *Dhātu Saṁyutta*[473] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has four chapters and it says that the Buddha discussed the *dhātus* or elements. While giving an account of the diversity in elements, he described the elements of eye, of visible object, of eye-awareness; the element of ear, of sound, of ear-awareness; the elements of nose, of odour, of nose-awareness; the elements of tongue, of taste, of tongue-awareness; the elements of body, of tangibles, of body-awareness; the elements of mind, of ideas, of mind-awareness; the radiant-element (which was visible through darknes); the beauty-element (which was visible through ugliness); the space-infinity-element ("revealed through visible object"), etc. He mentioned further that owing to the diversity in elements there appeared diversity of contact and from which the rise of diversity of feeling took place.

(4) The *Anamatagga Saṁyutta*[474] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has twenty speeches in two chapters. Here the Buddha told that "the beginning of one who is fairing on, cloaked in ignorance and tied to craving, be known".

(5) The *Kassapa Saṁyutta*[475] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has thirteen *suttas* and the Venerable Kassapa was the speaker in these *suttas*. Here he was praised for his contentment. He was a happy person and was content with his robe, alms, lodging and the store of medicines. He never complained against these things. This shows that he was content in every respect. Here he was compared with the moon when he moved among the families. Even as a new-comer he never behaved like an obstrusive among the families. Here the Buddha said to his disciples to follow Kassapa.

(6) The *Lābhasakkāra Saṁyutta*[476] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has four chapters and it mentions the Buddha who described that just as a fish swallowed the hook of the fisherman fell into the trap of the fisherman and misfortune happened to this fish, similarly, when the monks sought after the worldly gain and favour and went for them and did not follow the right path, then they were liable to misfortune.

(7) The *Rāhula Saṁyutta*[477] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in two chapters refers to the Buddha's conversation with Rāhula on the

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subject of discipline. Sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch and mind were mentioned as fleeting and unpleasant. It was for this reason those things which were fleeting, unpleasant, and changeable were not considered to think by a person as "This was mine", "This I was", "This was my spirit". So one had no notion "of an 'I', nor of 'mine', nor an insidious tendency to vain conceits in the matter of this body with its mind". A person, who, comprehended all these things, found peace in his mind and he was able to establish himself in a peaceful state.

(8) The *Lakkhaṇa Saṁyutta*[478] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in two chapters mentions a conversation between the venerable Lakkhaṇa and Mahā-Moggallāna. Here the former asked the latter about the reason for his laugh while both of them went for alms. Then Moggallāna gave an account of it to the Venerable Lakkhaṇa and also other monks who assembled there in the presence of the Buddha.

(9) The *Opamma Saṁyutta*[479] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* describes that the Buddha spoke of sinful acts which took their origin in *avijjā* or ignorance. He said further that all wrong or evil states had their origin in ignorance. That is why, he advised his monks to act like strenuous, zealous and energetic persons. When they did not act in that way, Māra, the Evil one, became powerful and defeated them. Ajātasattu had a chance to defeat the *Licchavis* when in their activities did not act like strenuous and zealous persons.

(10) The *Bhikkhu Saṁyutta*[480] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to Mahā-Moggallāna who spoke to the monks about the "Aryan Silence". He said further that this was enjoyed by one who used to stay in the second *jhāna*. This *saṁyutta* says that the Buddha advised Nanda, Tissa and other monks to act and to regulate their monk-life strictly according to the rules which were introduced by the Buddha.

(III) The *Khandhavagga*

(1) The *Khandha Saṁyutta*[481] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has three sections and each has five chapters. It describes the five *khandhas* or constituent elements. Those who were not well-versed in the Aryan doctrine had in their mind these ideas which were "body was mine", "feeling was mine","perception was

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mine", "consciousness was mine", and thought activities as the self and the self had activities, etc. It is to be noted here that due to their unstable and changeful nature when these five *khandhas* or constituent elements changed, then sorrow and despair appeared in them. But a person, who was well-versed in the Aryan doctrine, never felt these things. The Buddha also spoke of the seven points. A monk who knew well these points became known as "accomplished in this Norm and Discipline". Here is given the seven points: A monk knew fully his body, the arising of the body, the ceasing of the body, and the way leading to the ceasing of the body. He knew fully the satisfaction there was in the body, the misery that was in the body and the escape from the body. He fully understood feeling in like manner, and perception, the confections and consciousness. The Buddha then stated that he, who had close connection with the five *khandhas*, became a prisoner of Māra. But he, who never behaved like this, became free from the Evil One, and the latter was unable to do any harm to him. When a person fully understood the idea of impermanence, when properly practiced and enlarged, the all sensual lust, lust of Prebirth, ignorance and the idea of "I am" disappeared from his mind. By observing "such was body", "such was the arising of the body", "such was the ceasing of the body", "such was feeling, such was perception, and such were the confections" then mind became free from evil ideas and all wrongful acts disappeared from the mind, and a person obtained perfect knowledge.

(2) The *Rādha Saṁyutta*[482] the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has four chapters. It describes that the Buddha gave reply to the questions asked by the Venerable Rādha on some parts which were related to the teachings of the Buddha. He said "(i) Māra by saying that where a body was, there would be Māra or things of the nature of Māra, or at any rate what was perishing; (ii) a being by saying that craving which is concerned with body, with feeling, with perception, with confections, and with consciousness is entangled thereby, therefore is one called a being; and (iii) impermanence by saying that body is impermanent, feeling is impermanent, and so are perception, confections and consciousness".

(3) The *Diṭṭhi Saṁyutta*[483] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* describes the origin of certain views in two chapters. The Buddha told that by clinging to the five *khandhas*, i.e., body, feeling, perception, confections and consciousness, such views took their origin as

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these: "All were stable or permanent; this was mine; this was I; this was the self of me; there was no fruit of good or evil deeds; this world was not, this world beyond was not, and the heretical views — the world was limited or unlimited, the identity or non-identity of the life and the body". The five *khandhas* were not permanent. When a Buddhist monk knew it fully and when his doubts relating to suffering, the arising of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way leading to the cessation of suffering disappeared, he was then able to save himself from disaster and in course of time he reached that state which helped him to attain the perfect enlightenment.

(4) The *Okkantika Saṁyutta*[484] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha told that such a person became known as "walker in faith" who had faith and confidence in the doctrine which gave him an idea that the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind were changeable and impermanent.

(5) The *Uppāda Saṁyutta*[485] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to the Buddha who told that the arising of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind was no doubt the origin of suffering, disease, decay and death.

(6) The *Kilesa Saṁyutta*[486] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* records the *kilesas* or sins or impurities. The desire which took their origin in the eye, ear, sounds, nose, scents, tongue, savour, body, tangibles, mind and things was mentioned as a corruption of the mind. The desire which arose in the eye-consciousness and in consciousness that came by ear, nose, tongue, body and mind, in eye-contact with the other sense-organs and mind and in consciousness of visible shape, sound, scent, savour, tangibles and things, was also a corruption of the mind.

(7) The *Sāriputta Saṁyutta*[487] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* gives an account of ten speeches of Sāriputta. Here the Venerable Sāriputta gave his reply to Ānanda's questions. He told him that he was able to calm his senses because he lived aloof from passions, he applied his thought and kept it in the first *Jhāna* which was born of solitude and full of happiness and gave up the useless ideas of "I" and "mine".

(8) The *Nāga Saṁyutta*[488] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* discusses four kinds of birth as *nāgas*. They were the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born and those born with parents.

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(9) The *Supaṇṇa Saṁyutta*[489] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to the Buddha who told that there were four types of rebirth as harpies. They were the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born and those born without the help of parents.

(10) The *Gandhabbakāya Saṁyutta*[490] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* describes that the Buddha told the monks about the *devas* who belonged to the *Gandhabba* group. He described further that those *devas* used to dwell in the fragrance of root-wood, heart-wood, pith, bark, sap and in that of leaves, flowers and scents.

(11) The *Valāha Saṁyutta*[491] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* says that the Buddha referred to the *devas* or gods who belonged to cloud-groups, i.e., *valahaka-kayika*. He mentioned further that there were some gods in cool clouds, hot clouds, thunder clouds, wind clouds and rain clouds.

(12) The *Vacchagotta Saṁyutta*[492] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* gives an account of a conversation between the Buddha and Vacchagotta who was a wanderer. The latter held the heretical views which were condemned by the Buddha in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Vacchagotta asked the Buddha about the cause of the origin of these diverse opinions which originated in the world, e.g., the world was eternal or non-eternal, finite or infinite, the identity or the non-identity of the life and the body etc. The Buddha told that due to the ignorance of the five *khandhas*, i.e., form (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), confection (*saṁkhāra*) and consciousness (*viññāna*), these various opinions took their origin in the world.

(13) The *Jhāna* or *Samādhi Saṁyutta*[493] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* mentions the Buddha who described that there were four types of individuals who practised the *jhānans* or rapt musings or abstractions. They were: (i) one, who practised meditation, showed his skill in concentration, but was not able to do anything in the attainment thereof. (ii) One, who practised meditation acted very efficiently in the attainment of concentration itself. (iii) One who practised meditation but did not show his skill in concentration nor made an important progress in the attainment thereof, and (iv) one who practised meditation showed his great skill both in concentration and in the fruits thereof. It is to be noted here that of the four types of individuals, the last one was mentioned as the

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best and the most pre-eminent.

(IV) The *Saḷāyatanavagga*

(1) The *Saḷāyatana Saṁyutta*[494] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* says that the Buddha described the six senses. He told that the eye and the object of sight, the ear and the sounds, the nose and the scents, the tongue and the savours, the body and the things tangible, the mind and the mental states were all impermanent, ill and void of self. But he mentioned that if anyone wanted to escape from these, there was the way, and this was mentioned as "the restraint of desire and lust, the renouncing of desire and lust which were in the eye etc." Where desire did not exist, ill or suffering had no place there. The Buddha further told that by observing the six senses as impermanent, fetters and sins, then ignorance disappeared, knowledge arose, fetters were abandoned and sins or impurities were destroyed. According to him, what was transitory by nature was known as the world. He stated that the eye and objects of sight, the ear and the sounds were mentioned as transitory. He referred to passion as a disease and said that "one can abide passionless by not imagining 'I have an eye etc.' One should not be enamoured of the object cognisable by the eye etc." When anyone behaved like this, he then became known as restrained. But when someone did not act like this, then he was called a person without any idea of restraint.

(2) The *Vedanā Saṁyutta*[495] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in three chapters discusses the three types of *Vedanās* or feelings. They were (i) feeling that was pleasant, (ii) feeling that was painful, and (iii) feeling that was neither pleasant nor painful. It was the duty of everybody to abandon the lurking tendency to lust for pleasant feeling, to repugnance for painful feeling and to ignorance of feeling which was neither pleasant nor painful. The pleasant feeling became known as ill or suffering, the painful feeling became known barb and the neutral feeling, which was neither pleasant nor painful, was mentioned as impermanence. Thus it was the duty of one to abandon all these kinds of feelings. When a monk abandoned these feelings he became known as a monk who rightly saw.

(3) The *Mātugāma Saṁyutta*[496] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* gives an account of women. When a woman who was beautiful, had wealth, moral, vigour and had children, was altogether very

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charming to a man. When she did not have these five qualities she was without charm for a men. She was then unable to attract a man. A woman bore five special sufferings: (i) a woman at a tender age went to her husband's family, (ii) left her relatives behind, (iii) she was subject to pregnency, (iv) she had to bring forth, and (v) she had to wait upon a man. A woman, who had five things, was reborn in purgatory when she was faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, wrathful and was not intelligent. But when a woman was faithful, modest scrupulous, not warthful, rich in wisdom, not envious, not an adulteress and possessed of wide knowledge, she was then reborn in the heaven.

(4) The *Jambukhādaka Saṁyutta*[497] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* mentions Sāriputta who had a discussion with Jambukhādaka, the *Paribbājaka* and referred to him some of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha. It says that *nibbāna* and arahatship destroyed lust, hatred and illusion. It states further that the path which led to the attainment of *nibbāna* and arahatship was known as the Noble Eightfold Path which were right view, right aim, right speech, right action, right exertion, right living effort, i.e., right livelihood, right mindfulness and right concentration. Those persons were regarded as well-practised and happy people in the world. They completely destroyed lust, hatred and illusion. Gotama, the recluse, took the righteous life in order to comprehend suffering. This *saṁyutta* describes three kinds of feelings which were pleasant, painful and neutral and three kinds of *āsavas* or three types of intoxicants of mind which were sensuality, becoming and ignorance. It relates that the Noble Eightfold Path can be mentioned as the only way which helped to comprehend these feelings and to destroy these *āsavas.*

(5) The *Sāmaṇḍaka Saṁyutta*[498] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* reveals that Sāriputta gave an account of the term "*nibbāna*" to Sāmaṇḍaka, the wanderer. Here he said to him that *nibbāna* destroyed lust, hatred and illusion and by following the Noble Eightfold Path one obtained that *nibbāna.*

(6) The *Moggallāna Saṁyutta*[499] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* describes that the Venerable Moggallāna referred the four *jhānas* or rapt musings to the monks who came to meet him. He had a discussion with them and mentioned them "the realm of infinite space", "the realm of infinite consciousness", "the realm of nothingness", "the realm of neither perception nor non-perception

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and "the unconditioned mind's rupture" (*animitta cetosamādhi*).

(7) The *Citta Saṁyutta*[500] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* deals with the fetter and the things, which brought to fetter, were different both in spirit and in letter. The eye was not a fetter of objects, nor objects were a fetter to the eye. But the desire and lust, which appeared owing to the pair of them, helped to form the fetter. It is to be noted here that the same can be applied to ear and sound, nose and scents, tongue and savours, and mind and mental states and neutral states.

(8) The *Gāmaṇi Saṁyutta*[501] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* describes the terms "wrathful" and "kindly". The Buddha told that one was called "wrathful" because when his passion was not abandoned owing to the fact that others harassed him and when he was harassed by others he showed vexation. A certain man became known as "kindly" when his passion was abandoned owing to the fact that others did not harass him and when he was not harassed by others, he did not show vexation. The Buddha then gave instruction to the headman of the village to follow the middle path by abandoning the two extremes which were devotion to the pleasures of senses and devotion to self-mortification.

(9) The *Asaṅkhata Saṁyutta*[502] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* deals with the uncreated (*nibbānam*) and the path which led to it. The Buddha referred to *nibbāna* which destroyed lust, hatred and delusion. He stated further that mindfulness, clam and insight, the four best efforts (*satipaṭṭhānā*), the four bases of miraculous power (*iddhipādā*) and the Noble Eightfold Path was regarded as the means to attain the *Nibbāna*.

(10) The *Avyākata Saṁyutta*[503] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to a conversation between King Pasenadi and Khemā. The former asked the latter about the existence of the *Tathāgata* after death and also about the existence and non-existence of the *Tathāgata* after death. Khemā told him that the *Tethāgata* did not say anything to them about these points and it was not possible to define the *Tathāgata* because like the mighty ocean he was boundless and unfathomable. Therefore, it was not good to ask these questions. Anuruddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna gave the same reply when they were asked about the existence of the *Tathāgata*.

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(V) The *Mahāvagga*

(1) The *Magga Saṁyutta*[504] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has eight chapters and discusses the Noble Eightfold Path which mentioned the right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right exertion, right mindfulness and right concentration.

(2) The *Bojjhaṅga Saṁyutta*[505] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in eighteen chapters describes the seven elements of supreme knowledge (*sattabojjhaṅgas*) which were mindfulness (*sati*), investigation of the Norm (*dhammavicaya*), energy (*viriya*), tranquillity (*pīti*), concentration (*samādhi*), Calmness (*passadhi*) and indifference (*upekkhā*).

(3) The *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṁyutta*[506] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in ten chapters gives an account of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* or the four stations of mindfulness which were related to body (*kāye kāyanupassi*), feelings (*vedanāsu vedanānupassi*), mind (*citte cittanupassi*), and mental states (*dhammesu dhammanupassi*).

(4) The *Indriya Saṁyutta*[507] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in seventeen chapters describes the five *indriyas* which were faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*).

(5) The *Sammappadhāna Saṁyutta*[508] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has five chapters and it mentions the four *sammappadhānas* or perfect exertions which were exertions for checking the growth of sins which have not yet arisen, for putting an end to evils which have arisen, for helping the growth of merit which has not yet arisen, and for helping the growth of merit which has arisen.

(6) The *Bala Saṁyutta*[509] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in ten chapters referes to the five *balas* or powers which were faith (*saddhā*) energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*Paññā*).

(7) The *Iddhipāda Saṁyutta*[510] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in eight chapters enumerates the four wonderful powers or *iddhis*. They were desire (*chanda*), energy (*viriya*), thought (*citta*) and investigation (*vīmaṁsā*).

(8) The *Anuruddha Saṁyutta* [511] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in two chapters deals with the attainment of great supernatural power by

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Venerable Anuruddha who became self-possessed and mindful as regards the body, feelings, mind and mental states.

(9) The *Jhāna Saṁyutta*[512] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has five chapters and presents the four *jhānas* or trances which were the first trance, the second trance, the third trance and the fourth trance.

(10) The *Ānāpāna Saṁyutta*[513] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* has two chapters and mentions the concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing. When one properly cultivated such a concentration, one no doubt gained much profit.

(11) The *Sotāpatti Saṁyutta*[514] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in seven chapters discusses some qualities of the Aryan disciple. The Buddha told that the Ariyan disciple had great faith in the Buddhist. *Triad*, i.e., the Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Saṁgha* and was blessed with virtues which were untainted by craving or delusion. He described further that he lived on gathered scraps although he was clothed in rags and he was free from purgatory and rebirths.

(12) The *Sacca Saṁyutta*[515] of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in eleven chapters discusses the four Ariyan truths which were suffering, its origin, its destruction and the path which led to its destruction. It has one hundred and thirty-one *suttas*.

THE *AṄGUTTARA NIKĀYA*

The *Sutta Piṭaka*'s fourth collection is the *Ekuttara* or the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. "It is a collection charactersed by numerical groupings of *dhamma* arranged serially in an ascending order".[517] In Encyclopaedia of Buddhism we find an account of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. It says that the Aṅguttara Nikāya is the fourth of the five divisions of Pāli *Sutta Piṭaka*. It describes,[518] "In this division the *suttas* are grouped in "higher" (*uttara*) "parts" (*aṅga*), that is in groups of numerical ascendency, and the English equivalents of the title are "Numerical Sayings" or Gradual Sayings which are definite improvements on Max-Müller's "collection of discourse; in divisions the length of which increases by one".

The peculiar way of grouping is evidently intended as an additional assitance to memorising the contents. Here we find the legthy sermons of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* have been broken up and the subject-matter separately dealt with in

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smaller groupings. The additional advantage of greater emphasis is obvious. Hence, a connected exposition of the doctrine with a logical development of a catechism is not to be expected here.

Not every saying is a direct quotation from the Buddha, is proved, e.g., by the last *sutta* (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 57-62) of the *Muṇḍa Rāja Vagga* of the *Pañcaka-nipāta* (The Book of Fives) when the *rāja* Muṇḍa grieving for his beloved queen, is consolved by Nārada *Thera* with a discourse of the Buddha, who had predeceased the prince by fifty to seventy years. For the Buddha passed away during the reign of Ajātasattu, who was succeeded by Udāyibhadra first and then by Muṇḍa (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 369).

It has been suggested that this *suttas* of this Nikāya form the real historical background of the contents of the *Vinaya* texts (*Chronology of the Pāli canon*, B.C. Law, I, p. 33). As said already, the grouping of the *suttas* is according to a numerical order with an arithmetical progression from one to eleven. Thus the Book of the Ones (*Eka-nipāta*) deals with a great variety of subjects, but always from one single aspect at the time, e.g., "there is no other single form by which a man's heart is so enslaved as it is by that of a woman. A woman's form obresses a man's heart heart". (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 1). "There is no other single sound by which a man's is so enslaved as it is by the voice of a woman. A woman's voice obsesses a man's heart". And similarly for scent, savour and touch. it is by counting such *suttas* as five separate units that the compilation in Buddhist books (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, London, 1886, p. 23; *Atthasālini*, (p.25; introduction, Discourse) brings the total sayings in this *Aṅguttara Nikāya* to 9557. Making allowance for this method the number of *suttas* has been calculated at 2344 by Edmund Hardy (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, p. vi).

Although the majority of *sutta* are short, some very short indeed, others are of considerable length. But throughout, the doctrine has been set out in classes of carefully systematised groups.

The eleven books (*nipata*) of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* are divided in turn, into groups of *suttas*, called *vagga* or chapter, according to some similarity of subject or of treatment. Thus we have a chapter on the hindrances (*nīvarana*), which although five in number, find a place in the Book of the Ones, because they are

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simply treated as to their arising, increase, and abandonment and also in the Book of Fives, as would be expected (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, pp. 3-4, and *Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhkathā* (*Parama- tthadīpanī*, PTS), III, pp. 63-64). In chapter twenty of the Book of the Ones are grouped 192 *suttas*, all dealing with the different kinds of meditation, but which have one thing in common: "he who practices anyone of these methods but for the lasting of a finger-snap, he is to be called a monk, his meditation is not fruitless, he abides doing the master's bidding, he takes advice and eats the country's alms-food to some purpose (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, pp. 38-43)".

"Very numerous are the *suttas* and the *gāthās* which the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has in common with other texts of the canon, and those are sometimes actually quoted as extracts (These papallel passages and quotations are recorded by E. Hardy, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, p. viii). But it is not always the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which does the borrowing. Thus, for instance, the account of the admission of women into the order, i.e., the founding of an order of nuns, is just as mach in its right place in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* VIII, 51, as in the *Cullavagga* X.I of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. On the other hand the enumeration of the eight causes of the earthquake and the eight kinds of assemblies is absolutely in its right place in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, VIII, 70, whilst the parallel passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* does not fit in with the contents at all" (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 62).

M. Anesaki (*Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1908* XXXV, II, pp. 83 ff) thinks that both the Pāli *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the Chinese *Ekottaragama* bear traces indicating that this collection is later than the three others. Moreover it contains the greatest number of quotations which are given as quotations. However, the *Nikāyas* or other collections are never cited as such, but only separate *suttas* or portions of a collection. Thus, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V, p. 46) a verse which occurs in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (I, p. 126) is quoted with the following words: "Thus it was said by the Exalted One in the quotations of the daughters (of Māra); in place of heart I did my goal attain. . . etc". Similarly, the *Sutta Nipāta* is not quoted as such, although the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 133) quotes verses from the quotations of Puṇṇaka. The Buddha himself said that on that occasion to Ānanda that he uttered this particular verse in the "chapter on the Goal" (*Pārāyana Vagga*) in the *sutta* called the questions of the Youth

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Puṇṇaka (*Puṇṇaka mānava pucchā*) (*Suttanipāta*, V. 1048). And, again the Buddha quotes himself (A?I?p. 134) Sāriputta as having uttered certain verses in the "Chapter on the Goal" (*Pārāyana Vagga*) in the *sutta* called the Questions of the Youth Udaya (*Udaya mānava pucchā*) (*Suttaṇipāta*, vv. 1007-7).

As there is no essential or even appreciable difference among the four *Nikāyas* (i.e., excluding the *Khuddaka Nikāya*), either in style or in language, there cannot have been any great interval of time between the *Aṅguttara* and other *Nikāyas*. As regards the earliest accessible sources of the teaching of the Buddha, there is no particular collection which could justifiably make any claim thereto. They would have to be called from the whole of Buddhist literature as isolated *suttas* appearing in different collections, because all the four *Nikāyas* contain very ancient as well as comparatively modern elements.

That, on the other hand, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has assisted in the composition of other books of the Buddhist canon is clear from the *Ithivuttaka*, a book belonging to the *Khuddaka Nikāya* or the Smaller or Miscellaneous Collection. The Chinese translation of this book by Hiuen-Tsang has several of the last portions of the pāli *itivuttaka* missing, which portions, however, are found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. It is, therefore, suggested that they were incorporated in the Pāli *Itivuttaka* after the Chinese translation of the seventh century.

Many of the *suttas* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* show the beginnings of the texts of the *Abhidhamma*, and the very nature of the *Aṅguttara* collection with its progressive classification would have lent itself spontaneously for an extension of the philosophical and ethical lists of threes and fours and fives etc., thereby forming a basis for the *abhidharmic* superstructure. The fourth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, the *Puḷgalapaññatti*, which is a description of human types or individuals, has entire sections (e.g., 3-5) which are for the most part found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* already.

The Sanskrit parallel of the Pāli *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is the *Ekottarāgama* of which only fragments have been found amongst the remains of manuscripts discovered in eastern Turkestan. These fragments, however, are not always in agreement with the corresponding Pāli texts, and the more notable divergences are not limited to the order of the *suttas*.

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It was in the fourth century that the *Sutta piṭaka* of the *Theravāda* with its four Pāli Collections (*nikāya*) or Sanskrit traditions (*āgama*) was translated into Chinese. The *Ekottarāgama* was translated into Chinese by Saṅghadeva in the year 397 B.C. *Ekottarāgama* was translated into Chinese by Saṅghadeva in the year 397 B.C. from an oral recital by Saṅgharaksa, both Kashmiri monks. It would seem that Saṅghadeva also made use of an earlier version by the Tokharian monk Dharmanandin (384-91 A.C.) Who also earlier version by the Tokharian monk Dharmanandin (384-91 A.C.) who also recited for him the original text which, however has been lost. The Chinese version, therefore, is not based on the original Pāli and as the edition availed of was used in the north-west of India, it contains numerous *Mahāyāna* additions".

The *Aṅguttara Nikaya* has the following *nipātas*:[519]

1. *Eka Nipāta* contains 21 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 1-46.
2. *Duka Nipāta* contains 16 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I,47-100.
3. *Tika Nipāta* contains 16 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 101-304.
4. *Catuka Nipāta* contains 26 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, 1-257.
5. Pañcaka Nipāta contains 26 chapters *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III, 1-278.
6. *Chakka Nipāta* contains 12 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III 279-452.
7. *Sattaka Nipāta* contains 9 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya* IV, 1-149.
8. *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* contains 9 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya* IV, 150-350.
9. *Navaka Nipāta* contains 9 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya* IV, 351-466.
10. *Dasaka Nipāta* contains 22 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, 1-310.
11. *Ekādasaka Nipāta* contains 3 chapters, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, 311-361.

(1) The *Eka Nipāta* or the Book of Ones[520] has twenty-one chapters and one thousand *suttas*. It describes the hindrances or obstacles (*nivaraṇas*), the mind concentrated and unconcentrated, the mind trained and untrained, the mind cultivated and

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uncultivated, the mind guarded and unguarded, the mind restrained and unrestrained, the mind well-directed and ill-directed, the mind corrupt and pure, the mind defiled by or cleansed of taints, energetic effort and negligence, diligence, discipline and truth (*dhamma*). It then in one chapter (*vagga* 13) refers to one person who took his birth in this world for the welfare and happiness of mankind and he was the *Tathāgata*, the fully Enlightened Buddha. It also discusses eighty outstanding qualities in which various disciples who were monks, nuns and lay-disciples of the Buddha became very prominent. They were regarded as the foremost disciples of the Buddha. They were Ānanda, Sāriputta, Mahā Moggallāna, Aññā kondañña, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya Kāḷigodha, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, Mantaniputta etc. It then in one chapter on the impossible has twenty-eight *suttas* "on things which cannot come to pass, e.g., that a person who is possessed of right understanding should regard anyone phenomenon as permanent, or anyone phenomenon or even the unconditioned as having the nature of an entity or substance". Then chapter 16 in ten *suttas* mentions" how each one often reflections (*anussati*) is conducive to *Nibbāna*". This *nipāta* then speaks of perverted and right views, and the concluding chapters of this *nipāta* (*vaggas* 20 and 21) give an account of meditative states "especially mental absorption (*jhāna*) in its various stages, induced by a great variety of preparatory steps".

(2) The *Duka Nipāta* or the Book of twos[521] throws light on various subjects from a dual aspect. It discusses evil actions which had immediate retribution, i.e., in this present life span, and evil actions which had retribution in future life, two types of *balas* or powers—"the power of seeing with close observation the evil effects of sinful acts through body, speech, and mind, and the power of cultivation of the seven elements of knowledge (*satta ambojjhaṅgas)*", the causes of the rise of the good and evil, different types of hopes or desires and desires for gain and longevity, two kinds of gifts and they were, gifts of material objects and gift of *dhamma*, various types of assemblies of the monks, i.e., assemblies of the monks who had not yet fully realised the four Noble Truths and the monks who fully understood the four Noble Truths. In the "Chapter on Company" (*Parisa Vagga, Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, pp. 70-76) we get a *sutta* which explains the characteristics of the "cream of society" (*parisā-maṇḍa*) "as opposed to the 'drags' which leave a bitter taste owing to impulse,

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malice, delusion and fear". Then there are chapters which mention various contrasting types of individuals, and kinds of pleasures of the home life and of a life of renunciation. This *nipāta* further says that there were two attitudes namely gratefulness and ungratefulness; two conditions of the criminal and the government — the former became powerful over the government and the latter became powerful over the criminal; two conditions in the *Saṅgha*—of the bad monks and of the good monks — the former became powerful over the good monks and the latter became powerful over the former; two kinds of assemblies — that in which the members, i.e., the Buddhist monks did not give any attention to an important sermon on the *dhamma* but showed their interest to an important lecture of a common speaker and that in which the members did the other thing; two persons were born for the good of the mankind — the *Tathāgata* who was the perfectly Enlightened One and the *Cakkavatti* king; the Buddha and a lion in the forest were not shaky at a sudden roar of the thunder; and there were two types of fools — one who did not perform his own duty and one who did a duty but it was not his own. The final section of this *nipāta* has seven chapters and has a total of 167 *suttas*. Most of the *suttas* contain short statements such as "There are these two conditions or states: Anger and malevolance" (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 95). The concluding chapter refer to pairs of results, such as the control of ill-behaved monks and well-being of self-controlled monks. Thus we can say that the Book of Twos can be mentioned as the Book of Opposites as well as the Book of Pairs. Because very often we see the twos mentioned in opposition, such as satisfaction and disgust and at other times "the point of comparison is one of equality, such as the two dark states of shamelessness and recklessness".

(3) The *Tika Nipāta* or the Book of Threes [522] refers to various subject "viewing them from a tripple aspect", the most common was the actions of body, speach and mind or deeds, words and thoughts. The Buddha told that those persons were mentioned as fools who through body, speech and mind did evil acts and they were the wise people who never acted accordingly. He spoke highly of gifts, renunciation of the worldly life and supporting one's own parents. He recommended exertion in order to check the growth of the evils which had not taken their origin, in order to develop and to popularise the *dhammas* which had not arisen, and in order to remove the evils which had already taken their roots.

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He said against some heretical views and explained clearly the fundamental teachings of his *Dhamma*. He mentioned that there were some *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* who held that owing to previous actions there were the pleasant or painful and neither pleasant nor painful experiences, others thought that these were providential and others again told that these occurred owing to no cause whatsoever. The Buddha said against these heretical views and explained the chain of causation and the four Aryan Truths.

In the eleventh chapter (*Sambodhi Vagga*) the Buddha gives the meaning of enlightenment. It also refers to the three causes of all *karmic* action, lust, hate and delusion with their opposites. The warrior's chapter (*yoghājra vagga*) compares different types of monks with various sorts of colts "thorough breds and trained steeds, gifted with speed, beauty and good propositions". The fifteenth chapter is known as the *Moṅgala Vagga* or the chapter which deals with auspicious. It mentions the qualifications which were required for entry into heaven, qualities which brought good results and with their opposites, the inauspicious, and the final chapter describes various practices of the sensualist, the self-tormentor, and the practice of the middle path which consisted of mind-control and mind-culture. The Buddha told that he, who committed sinful acts through body, speech and mind, went to purgatory, and he, who controlled his body, speech and mind, and through these, performed meritorious acts, went to heaven and enjoyed heavenly bliss there.

(4) The *Catukka Nipāta* or the Book of Cours[523] is divided into five sections and each has five chapters of ten *suttas* but the fifth and the last section has seventy-one *suttas*. The Buddha told that when a person was not possessed of four things, i.e., holy conduct, holy concentration, holy insight and holy emancipation, he then fell from this Norm (*Dhamma*) and Discipline (*Vinaya*). An ignorant man obtained demerit when he praised one who did not deserve praise, blamed one who was worthy of praise, rejoiced wherein one did not want to rejoice, and did not rejoice wherein one wanted to rejoice. But a wise man gained much merit because he did the right thing properly in these respects and followed the right path. This *nipāta* refers to four kinds of beings who existed in this world: (1) a being who was ill-versed and led a life which was not virtuous; (2) a being who was ill-versed but led a virtuous life; (3) a being who was well-versed but led a life which was not virtuous;

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and (4) a being who was well-versed and led a virtuous life. The Buddha mentioned sloth and energy as evils and spoke highly of exertions, and he told wrong behaviour and right behaviour. He then described that there were four kinds of resources which were paṃsukula-civara, *piṇḍiyālopabhojanaṃ, rukkhamūla-senāsana* and *pūtimuttabhesajja* and these resources were not only procurable but also were faultless. He said the four ancient, agelong and traditional noble lineages and revealed that it was the duty of a monk to remain happy with whatsoever robe, alms, dwelling place and medicine he received. He told four kinds of blessings which were dwelling in a suitable region (*paṭirūpadesavāso*), 'taking refuge in good man' (*sappuri-sūpassayo*), right realisation of self (*attasamm apaṇidhi*), and good works performed in former existences (*pubbe ca katapuññatā*): four types of kindly feelings; four qualities which made one a great personage; four qualities which guarded a monk against his falling away, and helped him to come very close to *Nibbāna*. Such a monk observed the *sīlas*, controlled the portals of senses, was moderate in eating and was very watchful in the day time and at night in *paṭhama, majjhima* and *pacchima* watches (*yāmas*). The Buddha discussed the qualities of a real monk; oblations which were performed without cruelty; the four ways of self- concentration for happy condition in this world, for knowledge and insight, for mindfulness and self-possession and for the destruction of sins; the four types of people in the world who fostered hatred, hypocrisy, gains, and honour and not the Norm; four hallucinations — taking what was *anicca* as *nicca*, taking what was *adukkha* as *dukkha*, taking what was *anatta* as *atta* and taking what was *asubha* as *subha;* four faults of receuses and *brahmaṇas* — monks drank fermented liquor, monks addicted to sensual pleasures, monks accepted gold and silver, and monks earned their livelihood by falsehood; four yields in merit-rightly believing that the Buddha was all-knowing etc., rightly believing that the *Dhamma* was well-propagated by the Buddha, rightly believing that the *Saṅgha* founded by the Buddha, was well-estabished, and the disciple of the Noble was free from all impurities etc., and virtue which brought about happiness; and the four ways of living together — the vile living with the vile, the vile living with the good, the good living with the vile and the good living with the good. It is to be noted here that four yields in merit brought about heavenly bliss. The Buddha then

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mentioned the duty of a layman; blessings and happiness; gratitude to parents; lures to hell; four kinds of sinful persons; four kinds of snakes; the fall of *Devadatta;* the four exertions and righteouness and unrightousness. The Buddha then told that a monk who was virtuous, well-versed, strenuous and possessed of insight, followed the perfect way of conduct and his knowledge was directed to destroy the intoxicants. He referred to heaven and hell; persons in darkness and light; persons of low state and high state; titans and gods; peace and insight; persons who were praise- worthy and blameworthy; four kinds of clouds; four types of jars; four types of pools of water; four varieties of mangoes; four types of mice; four types of oxen; four kinds of trees etc. He said earnestness; mindfulness; fetters; understanding; bad and good men; morality; concentration; insight; persons who were subdued or unsubdued in mind, in body and in mind and body together; fourlustres of moon, sun, fire and wisdom; four radiances; four lights; four effulgences; four lamps; four kinds of misconduct by word which were falsehood, back biting, harsh speech and frivolous talk; four types of good conduct by word which were truthful words, no back-biting, gentle speech and thoughtful speech; four essences which were conduct, meditation, wisdom and emancipation; four faculties and four powers which were faith, energy, recollection and meditation; four things which led to the decay and disappearance of the Norm (when the monks learnt the *suttantas* which were not well taught, when the monks were wrong in speech, when the learned monks did not proclaim the *suttanlās* rightly and when the learned monks were not serious about *nibbāna*) and four things which led to the preservation of the Norm (i.e., the opposites of these causes helped to preserve the Norm); the elements; the annihilation of personality; the *āsavas* or sins etc. He told the monks that there were the wicked man and the good man; the sinful and the virtuous; the man of evil nature and the man of good nature; four kinds of misconduct and four kinds of good conduct by word. He spoke of a man who did not follow the *sīlas*, who accepted wrong views, who lived on lying, and who went for glory and fame, became very happy in the breaking of an order and the holy life was lived for higher wisdom, for helping to realise emancipation and for encouragement to do something for the mastery of mindfulness. He described that *Tathāgata, Paccekabuddha, Tathāgatasāvaka* and *Rājacakkavatti* were four worthy persons for honour and veneration and they were worthy

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of monuments. He told the four *balas* or potentialities or the controlling powers which were energy, mindfulness, concentration and faith or wisdom. This *nipāta* describes that the four postures were sensuality, becoming, wrong views and ignorance; the four postures were deportments of the body in walking, standing, sitting and lying down; the four evil actions which led to a downward life were killing, stealing, sermons misconduct and lying; the four kinds of effort were restraint, abandonment or rejection, cultivation, and preservation; the four kinds of fear were birth, old age, disease and death; the four different kinds of fear were self-reproach, blame, punishment in the life and an evil rebirth; the four sublime mental states were amity, compassion sympathy and equanimity; and the four stages of holiness in respect of the wearing out (*parikkhaya*) or only weakening (*tanutta*) of some or all of the ten fetters (*sannojana*) and these stages had the symbolical names: streamwinner (*sotapanna*): the unshaken one (*acala*): one-returner (*sakadāgāmin*): the blue lotus (*puṇḍarika*); the non-returner (*anavattin*); the white lotus (*paduma*); and arahant (*āsavānaṃ khaya*) the exquisite one (*sukhumāla*). This *nipāta* also refers to four shortcomings in a judicial authority giving decision by one's own desire, by ill-will, by dullness and by fear; four qualities necessary for keeping others favourable to oneself — offering presents, speaking sweet words, giving help and showing equal treatment; four ways of answering of a question — giving answer absolutely, with reservation, by a counter question and by paying no attention to it; four perversions of a view — taking the transitory as permanent, taking the miserable as bliss, taking the non-self as self, and taking the dirty as clean; four defilements of the sun and moon — it was for this reason their brilliance becomes dull, i.e., cloud, mist, dirt and eclipse; four families of the serpent- king-*Virūpakkha, Erāpatha, Chabyāputta* and *Kaṇhāgotamaka;* four qualities of a good man — were, when he was asked, he spoke not against others, even when he was not asked he spoke highly of others, even when he was not asked he disclosed one's own fault, and even when he was asked, he felt shy to disclose one's own merits; four persons — who were dark destined to darkness, who were dark destined to light, who were light destined to darkness and who were light destined to light; four kinds of clouds — that which did not rain but only thundered, that which did not thunder but only rained, that neither thundered nor rained and that which thundered as well as

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rained; four holy places or places of pilgrimage — the place where the Buddha was born, the place where he obtained the perfect enlightenment, the place where he turned the wheel of the *dhama*, and the place where his death occurred; four paths which were difficult and slow, difficult but quick, easy but slow and both easy and quick; four originations — love from love, hatred from love, love from hatred and hatred from hatred, and four postures — the posture of a corpse — lying flat on the back, the posture of the sensual man-lying on the left side, the posture of the lion-lying on the right and the posture of the *Tathāgata* — who engaged himself in various stages of meditation. This *nipāta* mentions that virtue, meditation, intuition and deliverance were the four things which led to emancipation from existence. It then refers to four things by which a man went to hell, four things by which one was able to reach heaven, and four causes — owing to good and bad deeds in former birth some women were ugly and poor, others were ugly and rich, others were beautiful and poor, and still others were beautiful and rich. The Buddha told that a monk, who was not free from lust, malice and envy and who was not an intelligent and who had no commonsense at all, was not a worthy person to take to forest life. He said further that he, who killed living beings, helped others to kill, knew very well how to kill others and spoke highly of killing lives, went to hell for his misdeeds and he suffered there. From this *nipātpa* we learn that Ānanda asked the Buddha about the reasons for not allowing women to gat a seat in the public assembly. The Buddha then told him that womankind was choleric, jealous, envious and stupid.

(5) The *Pañcaka Nipāta* or the Book of Fives[524] has twenty-six chapters. It describes the five *sekhabalas* or the strength of the learner or disciple — faith (*saddhā*), bashfulness (*hirī*), shrinking back from committing sin (*ottappo*), energy (*viriya*) and wisdom (*paññā*); the five *balas* of the (*Tathāgata* — faith, bashfulness, shrinking back from committing sin, energy and wisdom; the five *upakkilesas* or sins of the body — iron, copper, tin, lead and silver; the five *nivaraṇas* or obstacles — desire for sensual pleasure, ill-will or bad intention, sloth and torpor, haughtiness and restlessness, and doubt; the five objects of meditation — disagreeable, without individuality, i.e., no self, death, disagreeableness in food and getting pleasure in the whole world; the five *phāsuvihāras* — friendliness, action by body, action by speech, action by thought, observance of the *sīlas* and followed

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the right views which led to the end of suffering; the degradation of the *brāhmaṇas*; the evils which made a monk a wrong person and he became angry and evils of wrong conduct. This *nipatha* mentions that a monk who had five evil-qualities — not free from passion, not free from hatred, not free from delusion, hypocrisy and malice was not liked by other monks, but his fellow monks liked him so much when he had five good qualities. This *nipāta* says that purity of life gave right concentration, right concentration brought insight and ultimate realisation, insight and ultimate realisation gave detachment and renunciation and due to detachment and renunciation, one was able to attain emancipation. It mention five advantages in charity — love of people, association of the noble, name and fame, fulfilment of the duties of a householder, and birth in heaven thereafter. It says that it was the duty of one to think the five facts constantly — it was not possible to stop the arrival of age, it was difficult to avoid disease, there was no doubt about occurrence of death, a separation from the near and dear one's surely occurred, one's own actions were responsible for one's state and destiny. It refers to eating harmful food, eating food which was not moderate, an over-eater, roaming and no control in the sense of the five factors which were not helpful to the longevity of an individual. It describes that just like the black serpent, the woman had five evils in her — excessive anger, revengefulness, poison, talking in the manners of double-tongues and unfaithfulness. This *nipāta* states that through seven generations on both the father's side and the mother's side the *brāhmaṇas* were able to attain high and pure birth and practised *brahmacariya* and studied the *vedic* hymns. The Buddha classified the *brāhmaṇas* into five groups: (i) *Brahmasama* or those resembled Brahmā, (ii) *Devasama* or those resembled the gods, (iii) *Mariyāda* or those who respected and showed great faith in their ancient tradition, (iv) *Saṃbhinna-mariyāda* or those showed no faith in ancient tradition, and (v) *Brāhmaṇa-caṇḍala* or those led a vulgar life. The *brāhmaṇas* of the first group practised the four *Brahmavihāras* — *Mettā, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekkhā* and led a pure ascetic life. The *brāhmaṇas* of the second group lived like householders, led their married lives, produced children and then left the worldly life. The *brāhmaṇas* of the third group properly followed their customs and rituals. The *brāhmaṇas* of the fourth group lived like householders, produced children and enjoyed sensual pleasures.

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The *brāhmaṇas* of the fifth group lived as householders, married girls from all castes and for their livelihood they accepted profession according to their choice. This *nipāta* gives an account of a fivefold gradation of moral observances: the minor precepts (*abhisamācārika dhamma*), the learner's code (*sekha dhamma*), virtue (*sīla*), right views (*sammā diṭṭhi*), and right concentration (*sammā samādhi*). None of the higher classes were practised when the lower grades were neglected. The fifth chapter entitled the *Mundarāja Vagga* of this *Nipāta* discusses five reasons for getting rich by honest means. And when subsequently wealth declined, there was satisfaction because it was used well as long as it lasted, and for this reason there was no remorse.

The chapter on the sick entitled the *Gilāna Vagga* deals with a visit of the Buddha to the infirmary in the Great Park of Vesāli. His purpose here was not the healing of the sick physically, but his aim was the healing and ultimate deliverance of the mind through the realisation of self."Illness ceases to be an obstacle, and even becomes a help in curing the mind by concentration on the unattractiveness of the body, the loathsomeness of food, the absence of joy in all the world, by reflection on the impermanence of all complexities and by contemplation of death". This *nipāta* describes that real evils of a monk were, however, not his physical ailments, but his unhappiness and his unfriendly attitude with any of the four requisites, i.e., robes, food, lodging and medicaments and his unfriendly mental attitude towards a pure life — his mind found no pleasure in leading a pure life (*brahmacariya*). This *nipāta* describes the five types of people — who slept little by night, a woman longed for a man, a man wanted a woman, a thief longed for a booty, a ruling prince engaged himself in the royal business and a monk wanted to make himself free from bondage. The *Vaṇijjā* sutta of this *nipāta* discusses the five trades which were avoided by a layman: trades in weapon, in slaves, in meat, intoxicants and poisons. Dreams always made a great influence over man's attitude towards life. The *Supina Sutta* of this *nipāta* explains the five premonitory dreams of the Bodhisattva immediately before his enlightenment. The *Brāhmaṇa vagga* of this *nipāta* states that the thought of renunciation led to the obviation of lust, whereas the other evil thoughts were eschewed not by any positive action as renunciation, but merely by avoidance of the evil thought.

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(6) The *Chakka Vagga* or the Book of sixes[525] contains twelve chapters (*vagga*). It gives an account of a monk, who was able to control over his six senses, who experiences the six psychic powers (*iddhi*), who had the six faculties (*indriya*) and the six mental powers (*bala*), was worthy of veneration, worship and offerings. He was indifferent to the objects of sight, sound, savoury, taste, tangible things and phenomena. He remembered six *dhammas*, cultivated the *metta* feeling, i.e., feeling of loving friendliness as regards his body, speech and mind, observed the *sīlas* or the rules of morality and held right views which led one to the destruction of suffering. The Buddha mentioned the six *dhammas:* (i) there was no delight in deeds (*na kammārāmatā*), (ii) there was no delight in disputations (*na bhassārāmatā*) (ii) there was no delight in disputations (*na bhassārāmatā*), (iii) there was no delight in sleep (*na niddārāmatā*), (iv) there was no delight in compay (*no sanganikārāmatā*), (v) gentleness (*sovacassatā*) and (vi) association with the virtues (*kalyāṇamittatā*). He described that the highest of sight was the sight of the *Tathāgata*, the highest of hearing was the hearing of the propagating of doctrines by the *Tathāgata*, the highest of gain was gaining faith in the *Tathāgata*, the highest of gain was gaining faith in the *Tathāgata*, the highest of learning was learning the doctrine delivered by the *Tathāgata*, the highest of service was serving the *Tathāgata* and his disciples and the highest of recollection was the recollection of the *Tathāgata* and his disciples. This *nipāta* deals with six which were regarded as disadvantageous to a learner. These were: had too much of business, gossiping, too much of sleep, had a large company, no control in the sense, and not moderate in food. This *nipāta* refers to six roots of greed — greed, ill-will and dullness were the roots of bad actions, and renunciation, kindness and wisdom were thr root of good actions, and six qualities which were contentedness, devotion, purity of character, energy, mindful and wisdom and with the help of these qualities a monk made a good progress in his religious activities. This *nipāta* then says that there were six impossibilities — a man of right view did not show his regard for the Buddha, his doctrine, his order and fell in a very miserable state and took the eighth birth.

(7) The *Sattaka Nipāta* or the Book of Sevens[526] has nine chapters and it is the collection of classifications by seven. It discusses seven requirements for meditation; seven miracles; seven kinds of wives; seven kinds of riches or *dhanas* — faith

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(*saddhā*), conduct (*sīla*), bushfulness (*hiri*), shrinking from committing sins or hesitating to do evil acts (*ottappa*), learning (*sutta*), sacrifice (*cāga*) and wisdom (*paññā*); and seven bonds (*saṁyojanas*)—friendliness (*anunaya*), repugnance (*paṭigha*), false belief (*diṭṭhi*), doubt (*vicikicchā*), pride (*māna*) existence (*bhava*) and ignorance (*avijjā*). The Buddha said against the sacrifices, in which living creatures were saughtered, and mentioned that a true and noble disciple never troubled himself with the idea relating to the existence of the *Tathāgata* or the non-existence of the *Tathāgata* after death. This *nipāta* also deals with the *Vedic* sacrifice in which animals were slaughtered. The Buddha said that in order to extinguish three fires which were *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*, three kinds of weapons of body, speech and mind were needed in a sacrifice. The *nipāta* mentions that three fires *viz. āhuneyyaggi*, *gahapataggi* and *dakkhiṇeyaggi* were honoured in sacrifice which was known as a real sacrifice. The parents represented the first; the wives, children, servants and other dependents represented the second; and holy men and recluses represented the third. This *nipāta* also refers to seven kinds of strengthts — faith, energy, modesty, discretion, mindfulness, concentration, and insight; and seven conditions of welfare of the *Vajjis* were the pillars of strength and prosperity of the Vajjian republic. These conditions indirectly emphasized certain qualifications of good citizenship in a republic state. Thus the Buddha said that (i) so long as the *Vajjia* would foregather often and frequent the public meetings of their clan, they might be expected not to decline, but to prosper; (ii) as the *Vajjis* would meet together, rise and carry out their undertakings in concord, they might be expected to prosper; (iii) so long as they would enact nothing already estabished, abrogate nothing that had been enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions that might be expected to prosper and not to decline due to their conservatism; (iv) so long as they honour, esteem, revere and support the elders and hold it a point of duty to listen to their words, they would prosper; (v) so long as no women or girls belonging to other clans would be detained among them by force or abduction, they might be expected to prosper and not to decline through moral rectitude and discipline; (vi) so long as they would honour, esteem, revere, and support the shrines in towns and country by allowing proper offering and rites, they would prosper; and (vii) so long as they would rightly protect and support *Arahats*

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among them, they might be expected to prosper and not to decline for their piety. This *nipāta* deals with seven circumstances of prosperity of the lay-disciples — not neglecting to visit the monks, to listen to the religious non-indulgence in seeing faults of the monks, not looking elsewhere for guidance and offering his sevices for the welfare of the *saṅgha*; and seven qualities of a true friend — readiness for making best sacrifice, giving best services, not seeing a fault, declaring the hidden secret, maintaining secrecy, not leaving during adversity and showing respect even in poverty.

(8) The *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* or the Book of Eights[527] deals with discourses on eight things by which the wife was able to bind the husband, and the husband was able to bind the wife; eight kinds of alms-giving; eight qualities which women wanted to possess in order to take birth as divine beings; the *Uposatha* caremony; the eight causes of an earthquake and mindfulness. This *nipāta* discusses that there were eight advantages in the practice of loving kindness (*metta*) — slept peacefully, awoke peacefully, had no bad dreams, became loveable to men and gods, had protection of the gods, was immune of harm due to fire, poison, or weapon, and was born in the world of Brahmā; and also mentions the eight ways of the world-gain, loss, fame, blame, dispraise, praise, pleasure and pain. The *Sīha sutta* of this *nipāta* refers to Sīha, the famous disciple of Niganṭha and a general of the Licchavis and his conversion. This *nipāta* relates that there were eight impurities — not revision was the impurity of a memorised stanza, lack of upkeep was the impurity of a building, sloth was the impurity of beauty, negligence was the impurity of a watchman, misconduct was the impurity of the wife, misery was the impurity of the charitable, evil deeds were the impurities of this world as well as of the next, and ignorance was mentioned as the worst of all impurities. It says that a woman by weeping, smiling, talking, moving on one side, twisting the brows, perfumes, offering food and touching was able to entangle the heart of a man. In the *Pahārāda Sutta* of this *nipāta* the Buddha had a conversation with the *asura* king of that name and the Buddha mentioned that his teaching shared the eight characteristics of the ocean in which the *asuras* took such delight. The eight characteristics of the ocean were gradual depth, not rising beyond the shore, not letting a corpse stagnate in it, accommodating the water falling from different rivers, constancy of volume, unity of saltish taste,

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treasure of all previous stones and abode of huge beings. The third chapter on householders (*Gahapati vagga*) describes various lay disciples who had eight qualities which were no doubt wonderful in the sense of miraculous and marvellous in the sense of rarely achieved. The fourth chapter on giving (*Dāna Vagga*) refers to the subject of liberality from the various aspects of giving, the grounds for giving, the usefulness of giving etc. The three refuges and the five precepts of abstinence from evil became known as great gifts (*mahā dāna*). Here is given an account of eight kinds of gifts — gifts were given due to attachment, due to some hope, considering that gifts were given because it ws good, thinking that gifts given to the monks were proper, gifts were given for fame and also for self-purification. The *Saddhā Sutta* of the *Yamaka Vagga*, the chapter on pairs, thus called — because the first six *suttas* discuss in pairs the same subject-matter, state the eight qualities which made a monk altogther pleasing and serene and perfect in every way. The concluding chapter of this book of Eights was once more in the form of a summary. The eight sections of the Noble Eightfold path (although the path as such is not stated), the eight spheres of mastory (*abhibhāyatana*) or powers were obtained in meditative exercises (*bhāvanā*) and the eight deliverances (*vimokbha)* which were three types of detachment from the perception of forms and the five states of mental absorption in the immaterial sphere, were the three sets of eight states which were developed for ten purposes which are depicted.

(9) The *Navaka Nipāta* or the Book of Nines[528] has nine chapters. It describes nine types of persons — saint or one who attained the *summum bonum* (*arahanta*), one who reached the stage of an *arahat* (*arahattā-yapaṭipanno*), one who reached the third stage of sanctification (*anāgāmī*), one who attained the fruition of the third stage of sanctification (*anāgāmiphala-sacchikiriyāyapaṭipanno*), one who reached the second stage of sanctification (*sakadāgāmī*), one who reached the second stage of sanctification (*anāgāmiphalasacchikiriyāyapaṭipanno*) one who reached the second stage of sanctification (*sakadāgāmī*), one who reached the first stage of sanctification (*sotāpanno*), one who received the fruition of the first stage of sanctification (*sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāya-paṭipanno*), and an ordinary man (*puthujano*); nine kinds of objects of thought (*saññās*): impurity (*asubha*), death (*maraṇa*) disagreeableness in food (*āhāre patikkula*), not finding delight in the whole world (*sabbaloke*

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anabhirati), impermanence (*anicca*), suffering in impermanence (*anicca dukkha*), not a self in suffering (*dukkhe anatta*), abandonment (*pahāna*), and lack of passion (*virāga*); five constituent elements — passion (*rāga*), sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), constituent elements or mental co-efficients (*saṅkhāra*), and consciousness, (*viññāna*) and five destinies of world beings — hell (*niraya*), world of animals (*tiracchānayoni*), realm of the departed spirits (*pettivisayo*), human beings (*manussā*) and gods (*devā*). This *nipāta* says that one attained arahatship by giving away passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), anger (*kodha*), enmity (*upanāha*), ill-feeling (*makkha*) and spite (*palāsa*). This *nipāta* refers to nine manners which were cultivated by the family but not by the monks — the family which did not greet respectfully, which did not show due regard, which did not offer honourable seats, which did not give recognition to qualities which were existing, which offered very little although it had plenty, which offered bad things although it had good things, which offered in such way which had no trace of regard, which did not come near, and which did not pay any notice to the *dhamma*. It describes nine graduated cessation — worldly desires ceased in him who obtained the first stage of meditation (*jhāna*), mental application ceased in him who obtained the second stage of meditation, thrill and excitement ceased in him who attained the Third stage of meditation, respiration ceased in him who obtained the fourth stage of meditation, sense of form (*rūpa*) ceased in him who obtained the stage of *ākāsānañcāyatana*. Sense of space ceased in him who got the stage of *viññāṇañcāyatana*, sense of consciousness ceased in him who obtained the stage of *ākiñcaññāyatana*. Sense of nothingness ceased in him who received the stage of *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*, cognition and affection ceased in a person who got the stage of *saññāvedayita-nirodha*.

(10) The *Dasaka Nipāta* or the Book of Tens[529] is mentioned as the collection of classifications by ten and deals with discourses which were discussed in twenty-two chapters. It mentions ten powers of the Buddha; ten fundamental questions; ten reasons for the introduction and the establishment of the *Pātimokkha* rules; and ten kinds of rich people. This *nipāta* refers to the Buddha's attainments. In it the Buddha gave his reply when upāli asked him questions. Here the former describes the terms "*saṅghabheda*". He states that when the monks propagated *dhamma* as *adhamma*

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and *vice versa*, *Vinaya* as *avinaya* and *vice versa* and referred to the *Tathāgata* that which was not said by him, then there appeared *saṅghobheda*. This *nipāta* describes the ten *saññās* — which were impermanence (*anicca*), non-self (*anata*), death (*maraṇa*), disagreeableness in food (*āhāre paṭikkula*), dissatisfaction towards the whole world (*sabbaloke anabhirati*), bone (*aṭṭhika*), one of the *asubha kammaṭṭhānas* which became known as *puḷavaka*, i.e., the contemplation of the worm-infested corpse (*puḷavaka*), one of the *asubha kammaṭṭhānas* received by the contemplation of a corpse black with decay (*vinīlaka*), one of the *asubha kammaṭṭhānas* obtained by the contemplation of a corpse fissured from decay (*vicchidaka*), and the idea of a bloated corpse (*uddhumātaka*); seven elements of knowledge which were recollection (*sati*), investigation of doctrine (*dhama vicaya*), energy (*viriya*), delight (*pīti*), calmness (*passadhi*), meditation (*smādhi*), and indifference (*upekkhā*); and three kinds of knowledge which were knowledge of previous existence, knowledge of the passing beings from one existence to another, and knowledge of the extinction of sins (*āsavas*). These knowledges were obtained with the help of the seven *bojjhaigas*. This *nipāta* then gives an account of ten purifications (*pārisuddhis*) which were right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*), right determination (*sammāsaṅkappo*), right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanto*), right living (*sammājīvo*), right exertion (*sammā vāyāmo*), right recollection (*sammāsati*), right meditation (*sammāsamādhi*), right knowledge (*sammāñānaṁ*), and right emancipation (*sammāvimutti*). The Buddha told the monks about the true and the real nature of virtue (*sādhu*) and also the nature of sin (*asādhu*). He then described the noble path (*ariyamagga*) and ignoble path (*anariyamagga*), and the nature of the good and of the bad qualities. He, who had good qualities, was served and he went to heaven, but a person, who possessed bad qualities, was not served and he went to hell.

The opening *sulta* of the Book of Tens deals with the system of casual relation. Therefore, the result of good conducts was free from remorse, and then joy was the result of freedom from remorse;joy further led to rapture, calm, happiness, concentration, realising and seeing things as they really were, revulsion and fading interest, released through knowledge and insight. Thus one state caused the fulfilment of another state. The three *suttas* of this *nipāta* refer to ten qualities which made a

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monk altogether charming and perfect. Its four *suttas* describe that a monk with five qualities resorted to a dwelling place which was complete with five factors. All round proficiency was acknowledged in the monk who was free from the group of five spiritual obstacles or hindrances (*nivaraṇa*) and who was complete in the sumtotal of an accomplished one's attainment of virtue, concentration, insight, deliverance and the knowledge thereof. Fetters were described in two groups of five, gross and subtle. This *nipāta* mentions that purity of character produced non-repentedness, joy, thrill, tranquillity, ease, concentration, insight, detachment and the attainment of emancipation. The Buddha introduced the rules of the *Pātimokkha* in the *Saṅgha* for the ten purposes: for the welfare of the *saṅgha*; for the convenience of the *saṅgha;* for controlling the rough; for the elimination of the evils hereafter; for giving the idea of faith in the faithless; for encouraging faith in the faithful; for the well-establishment of the *dhamma* as well as for the good of the discipline. This *nipāta* says that for the following ten reasons it was not the duty of a monk to enter the inner apartments of the royal palace: in the presence of the queen if he (the monk) had a smile on his face, then the king had a reason to misunderstand it; the king suspected him that it was due to him the queen had a conception but he totally forgot that he himself actually did it; without any reason he had a chance of involving himself in a case of theft; and there was a chance of supecting him of telling the secrecy of the government and the like.

(11) The *Ekādasaka Nipāta* or the final Book of Elevens[530] is the collection of classifications by eleven. It deals with the qualities which were important for the realisation of *Nibbāna* and which no doubt gave necesary help to reach the highest place in order to become the highest and best among gods and men. It states that through *vijjā* and *caraṇa* only an individual was able to obtain *Nibbāna.* It then mentions the eleven blessings from the exercise of benevolence, the eleven gates for *Nibbāna* and also eleven conditions in order to acquire the knowledge of human passion. It describes further that when a person cultivated loving kindness (*mettā*), he then received the following eleven merits: he slept peacefully, he got up peacefully, did not see a bad dream, won the love of men as well as of the spirits, was protected by the gods, was not harmed by fire or poison or weapon, obtained concentration easily, got a glowing face, met a peaceful death, and

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atleast reached the world of Brahmā after his worldly existence.

The *Nissaya Vagga* of this *Nipāta* discusses eleven items: three qualities which made a monk fully accomplished; virtue, concentration and insight belinged to an *arahant* (*asekha*); three other qualities which were marvellous: supernormal power, thought-reading and exhortation; three further qualities of perfection were right understanding, right insight and right deliverance and there were two more qualities of wisdom and practice. The final chapter of this *nipāta* which has no title but is the usual summary: eleven qualities, the four states of mental absorption (*jhānas*), deliverance of mind through the four sublime states and realisation through concentration on the three formless spheres of unbounded space, infinite consciousness and nothingness, these eleven qualities were developed for the comprehension, understanding, destruction, abandoning, cessation, waning, disappearing, ending liberation, and renunciation of lust, hate, delusion, anger, enmity, hypocrisy, malice, envy, avarice, deceit, treachery, obstincacy, impetuosity, pride, conceit, mental intoxication and negligence.

THE *KHUDDAKA NIKĀYA*

The *khuddaka Nikāya*[531] is the fifth division of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It has sixteen independent treatises but Buddhaghosa enumerated them as fifteen. It is known as "collection of miscellanies". According to some scholars, the texts of the *khuddaka Nikāya* were compiled after the four *nikāyas*. It is known that some of the parts belonged to the earliest period, but other parts belonged to "the latest stratum of the Pāli canon". It is to be noted here that when we judge the subject-matter of this *nikāya* we see that among the different texts there was no resemblance and they can be mentioned as independent texts. They were written in verse. The fifteen tests are: (I) *Khuddakapāṭha*, (II) *Dhammapada*, (III) *Udāna*, (IV) *Itivu- ttaka*, (V) *Sutta Nipāta* (VI) *Vimānavatthu*, (VII) *Petavatthu*, (VIII) *Theragāthā* (IX) *Therīgāthā*, (X) *Jātakas*, (XI) *Niddesa: Mahāniddesa* and *Cullaniddesa* (Buddhaghosa referred to them as one treatise), (XII) *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (XIII) *Apadāna*, (xiv) *Buddhavaṃsa*, and (XIV) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

(I) The Khuddakapāṭha

The *Khuddakapāṭha*[532] or "short lessons" is mentioned as the

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first text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is called "Lesser reading". According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, it is the text of the minor sayings. It has nine short texts. They are: *Tisaraṇa, Dasasikkhāpada, Dvattiṃsākāra, Kumārapañha, Maṅgalasutta, Ratanasutta, Tirokuḍḍasutta, Nidhikaṇḍasuta* and *Karaṇiyamettasutta*. It is said that these are but a selection "made out of an original collection of the canon". The *Khuddakapāṭha* has received its name from its first four texts which are no doubt very short compared to the other five texts. It can be mentioned as a manual of the Buddhist life.

(1) The first text is known as the *Tisaraṇa*. It is described as the Buddhist creed. "I take my refuge in the Buddha (*Buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi*), I take my refuge in the *Dhamma* (*Dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi*), I take my refuge in the Saṁgha (*Saṁghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi*)".

(2) The second text is the *Dasasikkhāpada* or the ten precepts and these precepts were prescribed for the novices: "(i) Avoidance of life-slaughter, (ii) avoidance of theft, (iii) avoidence of leading irreligious life (iv) avoidance of falshehood, (v) avoidence of drinking spirituous liquor, (vi) avoidance of dancing, singing, and music, (vii) avoidance of using garlands, scents, ointments and avoidance of ornamentations, (viii) avoidance of using luxurious and magnificent household furniture, (ix) avoidance of using gold and silver, and (x) avoidance of taking food at improper time". Mrs. Rhys Davids translates this text as "the tenfold course".

(3) The third text is the *Dvattiṃsākāra* which deals with the thirty-two parts of the body e.g., hair of the head, nails, teeth, heart, liver, skin, flesh, spleen, abdomen, bile, phlegm, lungs, mucus, pus, blood, kidney, marrow etc. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates this text as "the thirty-two fold formation".[534]

(4) The fourth text is the *kumārapañha* or Novice's Questions. Mrs. Rhys Davids describes it as "Questions for young gentlemen".[535] It says, "What is meant by one? — all beings live on food. What are meant by two? — name and form. What are meant by three? the three sensations. What are meant by four? the four truths. What are meant by five? — the five constituent elements of beings. What are meant by six? — the six sense-organs. What are meant by seven? — seven supernatural knowledges. What are meant by eight? — the noble eightfold path. What are meant by

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nine? — the nine abodes of human beings. What is meant by ten? — the ten attributes which tranform a being into a saint."

(5) The *Maṅgala Sutta*,[536] the fifth text, is one of the important *suttas* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*. It mentions that it is not good to serve the unwise but it is always good to attend to the learned people and to pay your homage and to show your respect to those who are worthy of homage. to dwell in a good place, it is better to have performed meritorious acts in past existences and right self-application. It refers to the chief blessings which are given here. It is good to do your duties towards your parents, to do something for wife and children and to follow and to accept a vocation which is peaceful, to give alms, to lead a life which is religious, to help relatives and to perform good acts, to try to do something which is free from sin, to restrain yourself from the use of intoxicants and to remain faithful in virtue, reverence, humility, contentment and gratitude, and always try to come and attend to religious sermons at proper time, to show your patience and sober attitude in speech, to visit the order of monks, to do something for holding religious discourse at proper season, asceticism and celibacy, discernment of the Four Noble Truths and the attainment of *Nibbana*, to have a mind unmoved by ups and downs of life, and free from sorrow, impurity and tranquil.

(6) The *Ratana Sutta*,[537] the sixth text, describes that whatever treasure there was in the world or in the next and whatever precious jewels there were in heaven, but it is to be noted here that there was none which was equal to the Buddha. Similarly, there was nothing equal to meditation which was praised by the Buddha. Those, who had no desire and had a very strong mind, were able to establish themselves in Buddhism and reached the stage of arahatship. Even the wind which was blowing from the Four directions was unable to do anything against pillar of a city-gate which stood on the earth like a rock and was immovable, so he was mentioned as a religious man who totally understood Four Noble Truths. They who truly followed the Four Noble Truths which the wise one, i.e., the Buddha introduced and established, however much they fell from the right path and led a bad life, even then, they did not receive the eighth birth in the *Niraya* hell. He, who possessed the knowledge of *Nibbāna*, was free from vanity of self, doubt and false belief in vain coremonies or any other thing that existed. Such a person was free from the four states of

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punishment and he never committed six deadly sins. The Buddha delivered his excellent doctrine for the welfare of mankind. The wise whose ald *karma* was destroyed and no new *karma*, was produced, whose heart no longer felt for future existence, whose seeds of existence were no more and were destroyed totally and like a lamp which was extinguished so his desires were quenched.

(7) The *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta*, [538] the seventh text, deals with the departed spirits who stood outside our dwelling houses, at corners, at cross roads, at our doors and returned to their old homes, Their kinsmen, who were compassionate, offered to them in proper time food and drink, pure, sweet, and excellent, and thought that those eatable things were ready for our departed relatives in order to make them happy. Husbandry, tending of cattle, commerce, and trade in gold did not exist in the land of the departed. The departed lived in that world on what they used to get from this world. weeping, sorrow, and other manners of lamentation — none of these were able to help the departed. The gift which was given by mankind to an well-established order of monkhood did something for their good for a long time and surely helped the dead.

(8) The *Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta*,[534] the eighth text, states that a man in order to hide his treasure kept it in a pit near water and thought within himself thus: "If occasion arises this treasure will be of use to me, when I am accused by the king or plundered by thieves, or for release from doubt or in times of famine and calamity". A man generally tried to hide his treasure in this world for these purposes. It was the duty of a wise man to practise virtue and treasure followed him after death. It was due to this treasure, one obtained fine complexion, sweet voice, good feature, and beauty of person, pomp and power over his family. All worldly prosperity, every joy in celestial abode and the bliss of *Nibbāna* were obtained by this treasure. A man, who got good friends by his wisdom, was able to gain knowledge, emancipation and self-control with the help of this treasure. Analytical knowledge, emancipation, all the perfections of a disciple, the knowledge of all individual Buddhas and the state of the Buddha were obtained with the help of this treasure. The wise and the learned spoke highly of the meritorious acts.

(9) The *Karṇīyametta Sutta*,[540] the ninth text, says that it is the duty of a person to behave like a diligent, straightforward, upright,

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obedient, gentle and not to behave like vainglorious. He must not do any heinous act by which a wise has a chance to scold him. Pray for happiness, prosperity and contentment for all creatures. No person should deceive another; nowhere and in no way any person should show any disrespect to anyone. Out of anger or sense of resentment it is not the duty of anyone to wish misery to another, but his duty is to express boundless goodwill towards all beings. The virtuous man does not accept false views and false doctrine and he has insight and controls his desire for sensual pleasures and for this reason he never takes his birth in the womb.

(II). The *Dhammapada*[541]

The *Dhammapada* is the second book of the *Khuddakanikāya*. It deals with the sublime teachings of the Buddha. It is a short manual of Buddhist teachings. It has 423 verses and is arranged according to topics into twenty-six (26) *vagges* or chapters. They are: (1) *Yamaka Vagga*, (2) *Appamāda Vagga*, (3) *Citta Vagga*, (4) *Puppha Vagga*, (5) *Bāla Vagga*, (6) *Paṇḍita Vagga*, (7) *Arahanta Vagga*, (8) *Sahassa Vagga*, (9) *Pāpayagga*, (10) *Daṇḍa Vagga*, (11) *Jarā Vagga*, (12) *Atta Vagga*, (13) *Loka Vagga*, (14) *Buddha Vagga*, (15) *Suka Vagga*, (16) *Piya Vagga*, (17) *Kodha Vagga*, (18) *Mūla Vagga*, (19) *Dhammaṭṭha Vagga*, (20) *Magga Vagga*, (21) *Pakiṇṇaka Vagga*, (22) *Niraya Vagga*, (23) *Nāga Vagga*, (24) *Taṅhā Vagga*, (25) *Bhikkhu Vagga* and (26) *Brāhmaṇa Vagga*. The *Dhammapada* means religious word or saying. According to the Buddhsits, it contains the teachings of the Buddha and mentions the essential principles of Buddhist philisophy and the Buddhist way of life.

(1) The *Yamaka Vagga*:[542] The *Yamaka Vagga* says that hatred never ceases by hatred. It ceases with the help of love. Those who understand that in this world everything comes to an end, then at once their quarrels ceases. He who lives only for pleasures, then he has no control on his senses, he is not moderate in his food, he is idle and weak and for this reason he will be defeated by Māra. He who wants to wear the yellow robe without doing anything for cleaning and purifying himself from sin, and who does not show his faith in temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow robe. But he who has purified himself from sin, has possessed all virtues and regards temperance and truth, he is quite fit for the yellow dress. He who thinks truth in untruth and

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sees untruth in truth, is not able to arrive at truth, but goes for vain desires. He who understands truth in truth and sees untruth in untruth, arrives at truth and takes the right path for true desires. As rain is able to break through an ill-thatched house, in the same way, passion easily defeats an unreflecting mind. But rain is unable to break through a well-thatched house. It has no power to do anything against it. Similarly, a well-reflecting mind is so powerful that passion is quite helpless against it. An evil-doer mourns in this world and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He not only mourns but also suffers when he knows the evil result from his own activities. A virtuous man is not only happy in this world but also in the next. He is happy in both. He is happy and is glad when he knows that his work produces the purity as well as the good result. An evil-doer suffers in this world, in the next and in both. He suffers when he thinks the evil result of his own work and also when he follows the evil path. A virtuous man is happy in this world, in the next and in both. He is happy when he sees that he has done good things, and is still more happy when he follows the right path. A follower of the law, even if he recites only a small portion of law, but when he is free from passion, hatred and foolishness and possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he then does not care for anything in this world.

(2) The *Appamāda Vagga:*[543] The word "*Appamāda*" means "diligence", "alertness", "earnestness" as opposed to "lapse", "lethargy", "unmind fulness". It is used in the sense of "acting energetically", "exerting oneself strenuously", "striving mindfully", and self-confidence.

Earnestness is mentioned as the step, i.e., the way or path which leads to immortality, and unmindfulness is the path of death. Those who are in earnest never die, but those who are thoughtless they look like dead people. Those who are advanced in earnestness, already knew it clearly, hapy in earnestness and express joy in the knowledge of the *Ariyas* or the Nobles who have already reached the state of *Nibbāna*. These wise people, who are busy with meditation, who are steady and who are always of strong powers, realise *Nibbāna*, the highest happiness. When an earnest person has roused himself, when his deeds are pure, when he moves with consideration, when he controls himself and truly follows the law in his life, then his glory increases. Fools

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always try to follow after vanity. But the wise man carefully keeps earnestness as his best jewel, and he obtains ample joy. When the learned man by earnestness is able to drive away vanity, he, the wise, then climbs the terraced heights of wisdom. It was because of earnestness, Maghavan or Indra became the lord of the gods. people always praise earnestness and nobody likes thoughtlessness or vanity. It is always blamed. A monk who is happy in earnestness, and who is afraid of thoughtlessness, goes like a fire and burns all his fetters. He is very steady in his perfect state and he cannot fall away from it and he comes very close to *Nibbāna*

(3) The *Citta Vagga*:[544] It is good to tame the mind which is difficult to hold in and it rushes wherever it wants, and a tamed mind brings happiness. Our thought trembles all over in order to escape from the influence of Māra, the Evil One. The wise man always tries to guard his thoughts because they are difficult to understand and they move wherever they want. Thoughts, which are well-guarded, no doubt bring happiness. Those who subdue their mind and control it very firmly, become free from the bonds of Māra. When a man's thought is not stady at all, when he does not know the true law, when his peace of mind is disturbed, then it is difficult for him to make his knewledge perfect. When a man's thoughts are not dissipated, when his mind is free from perplexity, when he does not think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him because he is watching himself. When he knows that this body is fragile like a jar and makes this thought firm like a fortess, then it is the time for him to attack Māra with the weapon of knowledge. Whatever a hater behaves with a hater or an enemy behaves with an enemy, a mind, which is not well-directed, not only brings unhappiness but tries to do us greater mischief. It is to be noted here that a mind which is well-directed gives us greater service and brings happiness. It can do good to such an extent that it cannot be performed either by mother or by father, not to speak of other relatives.

(4) The *Puppha Vagga*:[545] The disciple (or a trainee, one who has still to learn, one who is under training, one who has not yet attained arahatship) will conquer the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. He will find out the path of virtue, and a clever man finds out the right flower. He who realises that this body is like froth and has understood that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage then he will be able to break the

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flower-pointed arrow of Māra. Death carries off a man who collects flower and whose mind is disturbed, similarly a food carries off a sleeping village. A bee collects nectar and leaves that place without harming the flowers or its colour or scent, so a sage without disturbing any-body lives in his village. He tries to follow the mode of conduct by which he gets his requisites without doing any harm to others, so a bee collects nectar without injuring the flowers. A sage always takes notice of his own misdeeds and negligences but he never tries to see the perversities of others and their sins of omission and commission. Like a beautiful flower, full a colour and full of scent, are the fine and beautiful words of a person who follows the right path and acts accordingly. From a heap of flowers many types of wreaths can be made, similarly a mortal when he is born can perform many good things. The scent of flowers is unable to go against the wind but the odour of good people even moves against the wind. The perfume of virtue is unsurpassed. The perfume of those who are virtuous men rises even up to the gods as the highest. The virtuous people live without thoughtlessness and through perfect knowledge they were emancipated, and Māra, the Evil one, is unable to harm them. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily grows full of sweet scent, so the disciple of the Buddha by his true knowledge shines forth among those who are like rubbish, among the people who move in darkness.

(5) The *Bāla Vagga*:[546] A fool is really a fool when he thinks himself wise. When a fool comes very close with a wise man even for all his life, he then understands truth to some extent. When an intelligent man for a single moment mixes with a wise man, soon he realises the truth. When a person is doing the evil deed which does not give result immediately, but, according to a fool, it is like honey, but in course of time when it ripens, the fool then pays for it and for his evil deeds he suffers much. A fool wants a false reputation and his mind always moves for it. When a monk understands that there is the path which leads to wealth and another is the road which leads to *Nibbāna*, then he will not move for honour but he will try to do something for separation from the world. Thus a monk should not find any pleasure in worldly gains but try to develop an inner life of seclusion and detachment from worldly affairs.

(6) The *Paṇḍita Vagga*:[547] A wise man after listening to the laws

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becomes a changed person. It is due to the influence of the laws he becomes serene and quiet. Under all circumstances good men move. It is the duty of a wise man to give up the dark state of ordinary life and to accept the bright state of a Buddhist monk. It is not good to associate with evil companions or to seek the fellowship of the ideas. It is always good to associate with good friends and seek the fellowship ofnoble men. He who realises the *Dhamma* fully, lives peacefully with a tranquil mind. The wise man always delights in *Dhamma* which was introduced by the Buddha. The wise men always control themselves. Just like the storm is not able to shake a solid rock, even so the wise people remain firm and are not ruffled by praise or blame. On hearing the *Dhamma* and understanding it fully, the wise men not only become purified but also become as calm as the deep, transparent and tranquil lake. The noble and the wise men renounce everything. The virtuous persons do not utter a single word for pleasures and they never show any sign when they are touched by happiness or sorrow. One should not wish success by unjust means. Such a person is mentioned as virtuous, wise and pious. Those who truly follow the *Dhamma* will cross the realm of death and it is so difficult to go across. It is the duty of wise men to obtain the inner life of seclusion which is very difficult to attain. It is also his duty to make himself free from the defilements of the mind. Those whose minds are well-developed in the path of Enlightenment and who get pleasure in renunciation—then they are free from attachment and have no apetite and are free in this world and they even obtain the bliss of *Nibbāna* in this world.

(7) The *Arahanta Vagga*:[548] One who had completed the journey and reached the goal, who is sorrowless, who has broken all ties and who has set himself free on all sides, then he does not suffer and the fever of passions does not exist for him. The mindful persons exert themselves; they are not attached to any home. Like swans leave their pools or lakes, they abandon their home. He whose sensual desire. desire for continued existence, false belief and ignorance are destroyed, who has no attachment to food, whose object is void, the unconditioned freedom, then like the path of birds in the air, his path cannot be traced. Even the gods love the steadfast one who has controlled his senses like horses trained well by a charioteer, whose pride is destroyed and who is free from corruptions. There is no more *saṁsāra*, i.e., phenomenal existence for him; he like the earth resents nothing; he like an

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Indakhila, i.e. high column, is very firm and is very pure like a deep pool which is free from mud. He who by right knowledge is fee from all featters and who is in a state of perfect peace, then his thought, word and deed are calm. The man who is without blind faith, who has knowledge about the uncreated, who has broken all ties, , who has removed all temptations, who has no room for rebirth, who has abandoned all desires, he is then mentioned as the greatest of men or the most exalted of men. When the *Arahantas* or the sinless saints dwell at a village or in a forest or in a valley or on the hill, the place then becomes charming and delightful.

(8) The *Sahassa Vagga:*[549] When a person after hearing a single meaningful sentence or stanza is blessed with peace, then that sentence or stanza is better than thousand sentences or stanzas which do not signify anything. It is useless to recite a hundred meaningless verses, but it is good to recite one verse of *Dhamma* when after hearing it one attains peace. Though a person may conquer a thousand time, a thousand men in battle, yet he can be mentioned as the noblest victor or the noblest of conquerors, who is able to conquer himself. Neither a god, nor an angel, nor a Māra, nor Brahmā can defeat the victory of such a person who is self-subdued or self-conqueror and ever restrained in conduct. Thus self-conquest is better than the conquest of others. A person who always greets and shows his respect to the aged, gets four things for this. They are: life, i.e., longevity, beauty, happiness and power. He who is vicious, immoral, unmeditative and unwise, lives a hundred years, but a life of a single day is mentioned as better when a man is virtuous. He who is ignorant and unrestrained, lives a hundred years, but when a man is wise and exerts himself hard, then his life of a single day is better. When a man is idle and weak and lives a hundred years, but a life of a single day is better when a man has possassed firm strength. A person, who has not seen beginning and end, but lives a hundred years, but a life of one day is better when a man knows beginning and end. A person without seeing the immortal place lives a hundred years but a life of one day is better when a man is able to see the immortal place. A person without seeing the highest law lives a hundred years but a life of one day is better when a man is able to see the highest law. Thus better indeed is to live a single day, seeing the rise and fall of things, attaining the state of deathlessness (i.e., *Nibbāna*), and realising the Supreme Truth than to live hundred years

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without doing anything of the sort.

(9) The *Pāpa Vagga*:[550] It is the duty of a man to move towards good and to do something for keeping his thought away from evil. Be prompt and take action immediately in doing good and keep your mind away from evil. When one is slow in doing good, then his mind delights in evil. If a man does an evil act, then it is his duty not to do it again. If a man performs a good deed, then it is his duty to do it again. When a man unnecessarily gives troubles to a harmless, pure and innocent person, then for his evil deeds this fool suffers. Poison does not affect one who has no wounds. A person who does no evil, then there is no ill for him. Neither in the sky, nor in mid-ocean, nor in the recess of a mountain cave, nowhere on earth, is a place, wherein one can escape from the results of evil deeds.

(10) The *Daṇḍa Vagga*:[551] All men are not only afraid of punishment but are also afraid of death. He, who wishes for his own happiness, not only gives punishment, but also kills beings. But it is very difficult for him to find happiness after death. It is not good to speak harsh language to anyone. Do not harshly speak to anyone. the victim may retort. Revengeful words are really painful and definitely hurt. The exchange of blow that follow may affect somebody. As a cowherd with a staff in hand takes the cattle in pasture, so decay and death bring the life of beings to an end. It is difficult for a fool to know when he does his evil acts. Such an unwise men is tormented and suffered by his own mis-deeds like one who is burning with fire. He who gives punishment and does violence to innocent persons and offends them very much, will soon face one of the ten calamities. He will suffer from either pain or disaster or injury of the body or serious illness or loss of mind or trouble from the government or loss of relatives or loss of wealth or houses destroyed by a devastating fire. After death this ignorant man is born in hell. It is to be noted here that neither wandering naked, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor fasting, nor lying on earth, nor rubbing with dust, nor sitting motionless can do something in order to purity a man who has not renounced all desires but also has not conquered doubts. Even though one is well adorned but calm, peaceful and self-controlled and follow a holy life of celibacy leaving aside the cudgel towards all beings, he is really a *Brāhmaṇa*, a recluse and a monk. By faith and purity, by right effort and concentration, by investigation of the

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truth and mindfulness and by virtue and by enlightment, one can destroy this unlimited suffering.

(11) The *Jarā Vagga:*[552] The body in this world is wasted, it is full of sickness, it is a nest of disease and is fragile. This putrid mass breaks up. Life ends in death. This body is built of bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and old age, death, pride and jealousy live in it. This beautiful body decays. But the *Dhamma* of the Noble Ones does never decay. The Noble Ones describe this to the good. A man who knows little grows old like a bull. It is true that his flesh grows but his wisdom never develops. Those who neither followed proper discipline, nor led a virtuous life, nor received wealth in youth, perish like old herons on the edge of a pond without fish or lie like worn-out arrows brooding over the past.

(12) The *Atta Vagga:*[553] One should first place oneself on the right path and then instruct others. For this reason a wise man will not suffer. Self is regarded as the lord of self, "who else could be the lord". By controlling of self thoroughly, one may gain mastery which is very difficult to gain. He whose wickedness and evil activities occupy a great place in him and it is due to these things he himself has come down to that state where his enemy wants him to that position. It is no doubt very difficult to do good and meriterious works. It is easy to do bad deeds. Just as a *Mālava* creeper strangles a *Sāla* tree, even so a man, who is corrupt, does harm to himself in such a way as an enemy can do harm for him. It is easy to do bad and harmful things to oneself, but extremely difficult it is do that which is good and beneficial. A fool who neglects the teachings of the venerable, the noble and the righteous and accepts a false doctrine which brings results for his own destruction. One defiles oneself by one's own evil deeds, and purifies oneself by avoiding arl acts. Purity and impurity depend on oneself. One cannot purify others. Because of others' welfare however great, one should not neglect one's own welfare. Understanding throughly one's own walfare one should do for the same.

(13) The *Loka Vagga:*[554] it is not good to follow false doctrine. Live not in heedlessness. Do not hold false views. Do not linger long in worldly existence. It is the duty of everyone, to follow the law of virtue. Accept a virtuous life The virtuous people live happily both in this world and in the next. Don't lead a corrapt

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life. One who understands this world as unreal, as a bubble or mirage, he can escape the eye of the king of death. He whose good deeds are able to cover evil deeds, not only brings light to this world, but also, like the moon "brightens up this world". This world is blind. Only there are a few who possess insight. Only few people can go to realms of bliss like birds who escape from a net. When a liar has violated the good law and does not say the right thing for another world and abuses and neglects it, then there is no other evil which he cannot do. The misers do not betake themselves to the world of gods. Fools do not praise munificence. The wise people become happy thereafter by getting pleasure in giving. The attainment of the fruit of *Sotāpatti* (the first stage of sanctification) is mentioned as better than sole sovereignty over the whole earth, or better than going to heaven or better than even the lordship over all the worlds.

(14) The *Buddha Vagga*:[555] It is to be noted here that self-victory of the perfect Buddha of limitless sphere can never be turned into defeat; he has conquered passions which are unable to raise their heads any more; and his entangling and embroiling craving is unable to enmesh in the cycle of births and deaths. It does not exist any more. Even the gods hold dear those mindful enlightened ones who are in deep meditation and delight in the calm of renunciation. It is not easy to get the opportunity of hearing the Noble Teachings and of witnessing advent of the Buddha. The teaching of the Buddha is to avoid all evils, to cultivate good and to purify one's own mind. The Buddhas say that forbearance is the highest austority and *Nilbāna* is the Ruprene goal. He is neither a hernit nor an axetic who is violent and others. The teachings of the Buddhas is not to blame, not to harm, to restrain oneself by observance of rules of the Monastic Order, to be moderate in food, to dwell in solitude and to engage in meditation. A disciple of the Supreme Buddha gets pleasure in the destruction of desires. Whosever takes refuge in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*, understands perfectly the four Noble Truths—suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the path leading to its cessation, sees that this refuge is safe and supreme. By seeking such a refuge one is freed from all sufferings. The merits obtained by a worship or of those worthy to worship like the Buddha or their disciples who have crossed all obstacles and have gone beyond the reach of sorrow and lamentation, attained the bliss of *Nibbāna* and are fearless, cannot

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be measured by anyone in terms of quantity or extent.

(15) The *Sukkha Vagga:*[556] It is good to live without hatred amongst hateful men and to dwell without sin amongst the sinful men. It is also good to live without greed amongst the geedy men. A sage with peaceful mind lives happily beyond the domain of victory and defeat. No fire is like lust, no crime is like hatred, no suffering is like one's existence in body and mind and no bliss is higher than the peace of *Nibāna*. Hunger is regarded as the worst disease and the bodily existence is the greatest ill. Understanding it, the wise men realise *Nibbāna*, the highest happiness. Health is the highest gain and contentment is the best wealth. Faith or trust can be mentioned as the best kinsmen. *Nibbāma* is the supreme bliss. One who has experienced the supreme bliss of solitude and peace of *Nibbāna* and has drunk at the fountain of *Dhamma*, becomes sinless and painless. It is good to see the Noble Ones. It is good to live with them also because it brings happiness. When a man has no chance to see the fools, he will be happy definitely. It is true that when anybody moves with the fools, then their company does not give joy and it is always painful, like the company of the enemy. But the company with the wise people brings joy and it is delightful like the meeting with kinsfolk. Thus it is the duty of everyone to follow the Noble One, who is steadfast, wise, intelligent, learned, dutiful, and virtuous.

(16) The *Piya Vagga:*[557] Don't develop any intimacy with the beloved and don't be unfriendly towards anyone. Because not to see the beloved and to see the unloved, both are very painful. Grief and fear arise from affection. He, who has no affection, does not know grief and fear. Lust and craving bring grief and fear. He, who has no lust and cravings, does not know grief and fear. he who is an observant of moral vows, blessed with vision, virtuous, intelligent, just and reasonable, truthful and dutiful is liked by the masses. Then the world belongs to him and everybody in this world likes him. He is called "upstream-bound" or "One Bound Upstream" (i.e., one marching upward) who has developed an earnest desire for the Ineffable (*Nibbāna*), established its contact through realisation and is not disturbed by sensualities. As kinsmen welcome a dear one on arrival, so one's good deeds will welcome the doer of good who has departed from this world to the next.

(17) The *Kodha Vagga:*[558] One should give up anger, renounce

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pride and conquer all fetters. Suffering never befalls him who does not cling to body and mind and who is passionless. One should conquer anger by love and evil by good. It is good to overcome the miser or the stingy by liberality and a liar by truth. Be truthful, be not angry and give even little of yours when asked for. With the help of these three things one may go to the world of gods. The sages reach the state of deathlessness beyond all grief because they are non-violent and self-controlled and well-restrained in body. there are persons who are very careful, who train themselves day and night and who try hard for *Nibbāna*, they are free from passions. The wise people praise one who has a flawless life and is virtuous, spiritually developed and has insight. One should guard against one's misbehaviour by body and in speech. Be restrained physically and try to refrain yourself from vocal evil. It is good to practise virtuous conduct in deed and in speech. One should guard himself against evil thought, control his mind and practise virtuous conduct in thought. The wise people are very controlled in body, in speech and that is why, they are called well-controlled.

(18) The *Mūla Vagga*:[559] When you are free from impurities and you have no guilt, then you will be able to go to the heavenly world of the Noble Ones. Staty away from all impurities and become stainless so that you can enter the celestial plane of sages. Then you are free from entering into the circle of birth and decay. For your purities and stainless state you shall not come again to birth and decay. A wise man should remove his own impurities just as a silversmith removes the dress of silver. Bad character or unchastity is the taint in woman, niggardliness is the taint in a giver and all sorts of evils are mentioned as taints in this world as well as in the next. Ignorance can be described as the worst of all taints. It is the duty of the monks to abandon this taint and to make themselves free from that taint. A man who is free from shame is easy for him to live and his life is easy. Hard is the life of a modest person who always shows his keen interest in purity and who is disinterested, quiet, spotless and intelligent. He, who kills, lies, steals, goes to the company of another man's wife, and drinks intoxicating liquors, destroys his future and tries to dig his own root even in this world. There is no fire like lust and there is no grip like hatred. There is no net like delusion and there is no river like craving. It is very easy to see the fault of others but it is difficult for anybody to discover his own fault. When a man finds

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the faults of others and he is offended and he blames others, then there arise his own passions and it is difficult for him to destroy them. The Buddhas have no vanity and they are free from worldliness. But mankind delights in worldliness. In the Buddhas there is no instability.

(19) The *Dhammaṭṭha Vagga*:[560] He is a wise man who investigates both right and wrong. The wise one guides others rightly, lawfully and impartially and he is the guardian of the law and is called righteous. A man is not considered as wise because he talks much. He who is unperturbed, friendly and fearless, is called wise. A man is not well-versed in the *Dhamma* because he talks much. Although one hears little, yet he sees and knows the *Dhamma* through realisation. He is indeed well-versed with the *Dhamma* because he talks much. Although one hears little, yet he sees and knows the *Dhamma* through realisation. He is indeed well versed with the *Dhamma* and he does not neglect it. His head is grey and he is ripe in age, even then he is not an elder. He is called "Old-in-vain". He who has truth, virtue, piety, restraint and moderation and who has no impurity and who is wise, is then mentioned as an elder. It is not possible for a person to become respectable by means of much talking only or by the beauty of his complexion because he is envious and stingy and he is not honest. When these are wholly destroyed in him and the very root has taken out and there is no hatred in him, then this wise man is mentioned as respectable. He who is free from the evil, whether small or large, is a *samaṇa* or monk, because he has renounced all evils. He is called a *bhikkhu* because he follows the whole law. He is called a *bhikkhu* who is above god and evil, who is pure, and who is not only careful but also moves with understanding in this world. A man is not mentioned as a *muni*, because he tries to observe silence. A dull and ignorant man cannot be a *muni* or sage. He is a sage who always accepts the good but avoids the evil, and he understands both worlds — here and hereafter. A man who injures living creatures is not considered as an elect or "Ariya" or a sinless one. He is mentioned as an "*Ariya*" because he is harmless towards all living beings. A *bhikkhu* obtained the state of bliss of renunciation by attaining the extinction of desires.

(20) The *Maga Vagga*:[561] The Eightfold Path is known as the best of all paths. The Four Noble Truths are the best of all truths. The best of virtues is passionlessness. This is the best of state or

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Dhammas. The Buddha or the Seeing One or the Seer is the best of men. The Buddhas only show the way. They are the expounders. It is your duty to exert yourself. The thoughtful persons who are on the path and who meditate are released from the bonds of Māra. "Transcient are all conditioned things"—he who knows and sees this, becomes passive in pain. This is the way to purity. "Subject to suffering are all conditioned things"—he who knows and sees this with wisdom turns away from sorrow. This is the path which leads to purity. All things are unreal and unsubstantial—he who knows and sees this with wisdom turns away from sorrow. This is the way to purity. It is difficult for a lazy and slothful man to find the path to Wisdom. He cannot realise it. It is the duty of one to guard his speech, to restrain his mind and to commit no evil by body. He should purify these three ways of action and follow the path introduced by the sages. Wisdom arises from meditation and without meditation there is no wisdom. It is the duty of one to move in such a way that his wisdom develops. One should cut off his attachment in a manner a man plucks with his own hand an autumn lotus. One must do in such a way that he cultivates the very path of peace. *Nibbāna* has been propagated by the Exalted One. A deeply attached person who always thinks of his children, cattle and wealth, is snatched away by death like the sleeping village by the great floods. Neither sons, nor father, nor friends can save him from death. Having realised this truth, the wise man restrains himself by morality and clears the path which leads to *Nibbāna.*

(21) The *Pakiṇṇaka Vagga*:[562] By sacrificing a small happiness, one finds a greater happiness. It is the duty of a wise man to renounce the lesser happiness for the sake of greater one. He who by giving pain to others wants his own happiness, he then puts himself in the bonds of hatred and for this reason he cannot free himself from hatred. Unruly and thoughtless people have their desires and these desires are always increasing day-by-day. When a true *brāhmaṇa* has killed his father (conceit) and mother (craving) and two Valiant kings (eternalism and nihilism) and has destroyed a kingdom (sense-organs andsense-objects) with all its subjects and also destroyed the hindrances to spiritual progress (tiger), he then moves scatheless and woeless. The disciples of Gotaṃa the Buddha always engage their minds with the thoughts of the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Saṁgha*, meditate on the true nature of the body, not only avoid but also get pleasure in non-viloence

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and observe meditational practices. They are "always wide awake". They find pleasure in compassion. It is difficult to leave the world and to enjoy the world, household life is full of sorrow, it is very painful to live with unequals and the itinerant mendicant "is beset with pain". Sorrow always move with the wanderer on the way of rebirths. Thus don't be an aimless wanderer and don't be a pursuer of pain. A wealthy man who is full of faith, virtuous and glorious is respected everywhere. Like the snowy mountains good people from after shine and are known and like arrows shot at night bad people are not seen. Everywhere the glory of the pious spreads. Taking a seat alone, lying down alone, taking a walk alone without stopping and alone restrains himself, a man becomes happy in the wood.

(22) The *Niraya Vagga*:[563] Many people, who wear the yellow robe and their shoulders are covered with the robe, do not behave properly and are not well-restrained. These evil-doers go to hell for their evil deeds. A reckless and a covetous man wishes his neighbour's wife and for this reason he does not obtain merit and gets an uncomfortable bed, punishment and hell. It is not good to think of his neighbour's wife. When asceticism is practised in a bad way, then it helps to go to hell. When an act is done carelessly, a broken vow, and "hesitating obedience to discipline—these do not bring any great reward. Any loose act, any corrupt observance, any questionable life of celibacy—none of these gives much benefit. If anything is to be done, then one must do it vigorously. Because the asceticism practised in a bad way throws up more dust and brings very bad result. An evil act is considered better than an act which is left undone because a man afterwords feels sorry for it. It is better not to do an evil act because it torments afterwards. A good act is always performed well, because one has done it nicely and has no reason to repent for it. It is better to guard yourself like a frontier city which is closely guarded both within and without. They have no reason to be ashamed of, but they are ashamed of, and, when they ought to be ashamed of, they are not ashamed of, these types of persons accept false doctrines and follow the evil path. When they have no reason to fear but they fear, and when they have reason to fear they do not fear, these types of persons uphold false views and follow the evil path and go to a woeful state. They who imagine evil where there is no evil and where there is evil, they do not find evil, generally arrive at a woeful state by accepting wrong views. Those

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who know the wrong as wrong and the right as right, go to a happy state or to realms of bliss because of upholding right views.

(23) The *Nāga Vagga:*[564] The well-trained person, who endures unchaste utterances or abuses, is the best among men. When one is sleepy, slothful, gluttonous and lies rolling like a fat domestic hog reared in a pigsty, the foolish man comes to rebirth again and again. Delight in vigilance, keep your mind well-guarded, and drag yourself out of evils like an elephant sunk in mud. When a man gets a prudent companion who is wise and lives quietly, he may happily move with him subduing all enemies and overcoming all obstacles. It is better to live alone. It is not good to have friendship with a fool. One should not do evil. Good or blissful is virtue as well as the observance of moral precepts till life's end, and it is mentioned as the attainment of wisdom as well as avoidance of evil.

(24) The *Taṇhā Vagga:*[565] Like *Maluva* creeper of a reckless person grows. Like a monkey in search of fruits in the forest, he goes from one rebirth to another. Whosoever in this world is overcome by this wretched clinging thirst, then his sorrows grow like *Birana* grass after the rains. If anybody overcomes this wretched craving, then sorrows fall way from him like water drops from a lotus. It is better to dig up the root of thirst. Just as a tree, though cut down, stems out again if its firm roots remain uninjured, so sufferings appear again and again, if the craving is not rooted out. Everywhere flow the currents of craving. Like a creeper it grows. It is better to cut its root with wisdom when anybody sees its growth. Those people who seek pleasures and want enjoyment, fall a prey to birth and death. Entangled in craving people not only struggle hard but run about like a hare enmeshed in the net. Held fast by fetters they suffer again and again for a long time. A *Bhikkhu* should give up craving if he wishes his own emancipation. Affected with passions the fools fall into the stream of craving but the wise men cut off that craving and they abandon all sorrow and renounce the world. Be free from the past, present and future and go beyond the shores of bodily and mental existence with a mind which has no attachment, and then there is no chance to suffer for birth and death. One who overcomes evil thoughts, meditates on the impurities of the body and is very alert and mindful, will make an end of craving and will destroy the fetters of Māra. He who is free from cravings and

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graspings, well-versed in the terms of etymology and knows clearly the words and interpretations and the order of letters, is then known as the great sage, the great man — of profound wisdom in his final body. The gift of *Dhamma* is the best of all gifts, the flavour of *Dhamma* is the best of all flavours and the delight in *Dhamma* is the best of all delights. By destruction of cravings all sufferings come to an end. Fortunes ruin the fool. For the sake of thirst for wealth the witless man destroys himself as one does others. Weeds are mentioned as the bane or the flaw of corn fields, while lust is regarded as the bane of mankind. Passion or lust destroys mankind. Therefore, a gift, which is given to the passionless, brings great reward. Hatred ruins mankind. It can be mentioned as the bane of mankind. Therefore, a gift which is given to those freed from hatred brings immense fruit. Vanity, lust, delusion and desire ruin mankind. Thus gifts which are given to those who are without vanity, lust, delusion and desire yield immense fruit.

(25) The *Bhikkhu Vagga:*[566] Good is restraint in eye; good is restraint is nose; good is restraint in tongue; good is restraint in action; good is restraint in speech; an good is restraint in thought. He is mentioned as a *bhikkhu* who controls his hand, feet and speech. He is well-controlled in all respects and he is freed from all sufferings. A *bhikkhu* always restraints his mouth talks like a wise man and in a calm way, and gives lessons on *Dhamma* and on the meaning of *Dhamma*. He lives in the *Dhamma*, delights in the *Dhamma*, meditates on the *Dhamma* and remembers the *Dhamma* and does not fall away from the sublime *Dhamma*. The gods praise a *bhikkhu* who is pure in livelihood. He is called a *bhikkhu* who has no attachment in respect of body and mind and who does not lament for what he has not. The *Bhikkhu* who dwells in loving kindness and delights in the Buddha's teaching, obtains the peace of *Nibbāna* or the state of peace, the bliss of the cessation of all conditioned things. It is good to cut off lust and hatred and than a *bhikkhu* can obtain *Nibbāna*. Cut off five (self-illusion, doubt, or perplexity, practice of wrongful rites and rituals, lust and ill-will or hatred), abandon five (passion for the world of *Rūpa*, passion for the world of *Arūpa*, conceit, restlessness and ignorance) and cultivate the five (faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom). The *bhikkhu* who has conquered the five fetters (greed, hatred delusion, false belief and conceit) is known as the passer of stream or "one who has crossed

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the flood". He is close to *Nibbāna* who has both concentration and insight. The *bhikkhu* who lives in a lonely abode with a calm mind and understands the *Dhamma* with insight, experiences a delight which transcends delights. The wise *bhikkhu* always controls his senses, has contentment and observes moral precepts according to the monastic rules and maintains the company of friends who are noble, energetic and lead a pure life. These are mentioned as the very basis of holy life for the wise *bhikkhus*. A *bhikkhu* should be cordial and refined in conduct and with full of joy he will be able to make an end of suffering. That *bhikkhu* is called a "Serene One" who is calm in bodily action, calm in speech, calm in mind, well concentrated, well composed and who has no apetite for the world. A self-guarded and mindful *bhikkhu* can live in happiness. The blissful *bhikkhu* delights in the Buddha's teaching and obtains the state of peace. A *bhikkhu*, who though young engages himself in the doctrine of the Buddha brightens up this world like the moon freed from clouds.

(26) The *Brāhmaṇa Vagga*:[567] He is called a *brāhmaṇa* who is thoughtful, meditative, blameless, settled, dutiful, firm, passionless and who has obtained the highest goal by his duties and has no *Āsavas*. The sun shines by day and the moon shines by night. But the Buddha with the inner light shines day and night. He is a *Brāhmaṇa* who by his body, speech and mind commits no wrong and in these three ways he is restrained. A man by his matted hair, by his lineage and by birth does not become a *brāhamaṇa*. He is a *brāhmaṇa* who is truthful and righteous and is blessed. He is called a *brāhmaṇa* who wears robes gathered from the dust heap, is lean and is covered with veins which overspread all over the body and alone meditates in the forest. He is a *brāhmaṇa* who remains fearless, has no attachment and is unfettered. He is called a *brāhmaṇa* who has cut off the strap of hatred, the rope of cravings and the net of wrong views or heresies) and who had obtained the enlightenment after uprooting the cross-bars of ignorance. He is a *brāhmaṇa* who endures abuse, beating and punishment without ill-will and whose patience is his power and force. He is called a *brāhmaṇa* who is free from anger and is devout, virtuous, has no craving, is well controlled, and bears the final or the last body, and has no attachment to sensual pleasures. He is a *brāhmaṇa* who knows suffering and understands perfectly the end of his sufferings. He is wise and has profound insight and knows the ways right and wrong and obtains

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the supreme goal. He never establishes his intimacy with both house-holders and homeless ones and has no desires and moves. He never kills and does not help anybody to kill. He behaves tolerantly with the intolerat mildly with the violent and among the greedy he is considered as free from greed. He is without lust, hatred, pride and hypocrisy. He speaks refined, meaningful and true speech which is instructive and there is no harshness in it. He accepts nothing, is desireless and unfettered, has no attachment, is free from doubts through perfect knowledge and has obtained the *Nibbāna*. He establishes himself beyond the range of both good and evil, is sorrowless, unsoiled and pure. He is serene, undisturbed and bright like the moon. He is meditative, free from craving, has no worldly pleasures, wonders as a homeless one andis completely emancipated from all ties. He has abondoned living for sensual pleasures and has conquered the world of birth and death. He understands the destruction and return of beings everywhere, has no bondage and is blessed and the enlightened Auspicious one. Neither the *Devas* nor the *Gandhabbas* know. his destination and he is sinless and has no defilements. He is the fearless hero, the great sage, the self-conqueror, the desireless the pure and the Enlightene. He still remembers his former lives, finds heaven and hell, has arrived at the end of his births, is very good in knowledge, has attained perfection of holy life as a sage through his knowledge and he has performed his duties very efficiently.

(III) The *Udāna*:[568]

The *Udāna* is the third book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is "solemn utterances of the Buddha—on special occasions." It is a collection of eighty Buddhist stories in eight *vaggas* or chapters: (1) The *Bodhivagga*, (2) the *Mucalindavagga*, (3) the *Nandavagga*, (4) the *Meghiyavagga*, (5) the *Sonatherassavagga*, (6) the *Jaccandhavagga*, (7) the *Cūlavagga*, and (8) the *Pāṭaligāmiyavagga*. It is written mostly in verse and hardly it is in prose. Its style is very simple. Most of the *Udānas* give an account of the Buddhist ideal of life and *Nibbāna* and the perfect state of bliss.

(1) The *Bodhivagga*:[569] The first chapter speaks of some incidents with occurred soon after the Buddha's enlightenment. The Buddha mentioned the chain of cause and effect in the direct and indirect orders. He told a *brāhmaṇa's* right standard of

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conduct and described the nature of the works he does. He thought that "the only ideal worth striving for is the ideal of a perfect life, in this present world, in saintship" and this ideal is to be obtained by freeing himself from desire (*taṇhā*).

(2) The *Mucalindavagga*:[570] The second chapter refers to certain incidents which occurred soon after the Buddha's enlightenment. Mucalinda was the serpent king. He by his hood formed a great canopy and placed it above the head of the Buddha in order to protect him from great cloud which appeared. The Buddha said to the monks that it was not good to engage themselves in trifiling matters such as, whether the Magadhan king Bimbisāra was the wealthiest or the Kosalan king Pasenadi etc.

(3) The *Nandavagga*:[571] The Buddha's cousin was the Venerable Nanda. He wanted to give up the life of a monk and to return to his lay-life which was the lower life. The Buddha then by his conversation was able to satisfy Nanda and showed him the worthlessness of the worldly life and the sorrows which had connection with it. Nanda then found pleasure in the state of homelessness and did not return to the worldly life.

(4) The *Meghiyavagga*:[572] The Venerable Meghiya is mentioned as the servitor of the Blessed One. He did not listen to the Buddha's advice and went to the beautiful Grove of Mango-trees which was situated on the banks of the Kinnikāla river for struggle and strive after holiness. But he was always disturbed by three types of evil thoughts which were lustful thoughts, malicious thoughts and cruel thoughts. Meghiya then came back and told the Buddha about evil thoughts which disturbed him. The Buddha then referred to him the causes of this incident.

(5) The *Sonatherassavagga*:[573] This chapter describes Pasenadi's visit to the Buddha, the conversion of Suppabuddha, the leper, the admission of a lay-disciple named Soṇa Koṭikaṇṇa, who became Soṇa there afterwards, into the higher stages of the *Saṅgha*.

(6) The *Jaccandhavagga*:[574] One day the Buddha took his seat on the appointed seat in the Cāpāla shrine and said to his disciples about the month of the attainment of his *Mahāpa -rinibbāna*. But Ānanda could not understand the "meaning of the palpable sign made". This chapter also mentions Pasenadi's visit

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to the Buddha. The Buddha gave an account of various heretical views which were the world was eternal or not eternal, the world was finite or infinite, the soul and the body were indentical or not identical. But he did not accept these views. He rejected these views on the ground that they were false views.

(7) The *Cūlavagga:*[575] This chapter discusses various topics. The venerable Sāriputta delivered several religious discourses and on hearing these discourses the venerable dwarf Bhaddiya became free from attachment and sins.

(8) The *Pāṭaligāmiyavagga:*[576] The Blessed one gave his instructions and satisfied the monks with a religious discourse on *Nibbāna.* The Master took the food which was offered to him by Cuṇḍa, who was the son of a potter and the Buddha was attacked with a severe malady. His stomach was upset. But the Buddha was thoughtful and he quietly endured the pains and he did not utter a single word. He then went to Kusinārā. Once the buddha with several monks came to Pāṭaligāma. The Buddha had many lay-disciples here. They gave them a warm welcome and received them with great honour. The Buddha here mentioned the five losses to the wrong-doer and the five gains to the virtuous person.

(IV) The *Itivuttaka*[577]

The *Itivuttaka* is the fourth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya.* It is written in prose and verse. It is a "book of quotations of the authoritative sayings of the Buddha". It has one hundred and twelve short *suttas* and it is divided into fout sections or *nipātas.* Each of the *suttas* begins with these words — "This has been said by the Blessed one — thus have I heard", and ends with the words, "This meaning was told by the Blessed one — thus have I heard". It is very probable that "the *Itivuttaka* was compiled as a result of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha, considered in a certain light and made for a specific purpose".[578]

Here is given an account of the chapters or sections or *nipātas* of the text:

(1) *Ekanipāta:*[579] The Buddha discussed evil and good, the evil effects of desire, hate, delusion, anger, hypocrisy, pride and the merit and said further that one tried to keep himself away from all these evils. He told that thirst was a fetter which brought transmigration. A novitiate-monk had these characteristics which

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were perfect attention and goodness. He referred to impurity in thought and its results and tranquillity of thought and its good results. The Buddha said that zeal in good work brought welfare now and in future. He spoke against intentional falsehood. He praised charity especially in distributing food.

(2) *Dukanipāta*:[580] The Buddha referred to the temptations of senses, and sins of body, word and thought. He mentioned that sloht and perversity mere main drawbacks for the attainment of enlightenment. It was the duty of a monk to act in a careful way and to do something for spiritual power. He told the various moral qualities of monks and the good results of a recluse life.

(3) *Tikanipāta*:[581] The Buddha mentioned the origination of impropriety. He gave an account of feelings which are pleasant, painful and indifferent. He described the taints of lust, existence and ignorance and spoke against the thirst for lust, existence and non-existence. He told that charity, character and devotion were essential qualities of various deeds. He opined that knowledge and understanding were helpful for the the attainment of emanipation, and proper realisation of the Indestructible led to release and repose. He said that Māra's weapons were passion, hatred and delusion and in order to avoid transmigration one should renounce these evils. He referred to good and bad actions of body, word and thought and their respective good and bad results, and the impermanence of the body and transitoriness of the substrata. He informed that lust, malevolence and cruelty were not helpful for the attainment of *Nibbāna*. He gave an account of the Noble Eightfold Path and showed the way which helped to escape birth, old age and death.

(4) *Catukkanipāta*:[582] The Buddha gave an account of a faithful follower who led his daily life in a very simple way. He told that he who knew miseries and sorrows—the cause of their origin and decay—was able to do away with earthly ties. He said that lust, malevolence and cruelty were constant sources of temptation and brought the downfall of a religious person.

(V) The *Sutta Nipāta*[583]

The *Sutta Nipāta* is the fifth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is a collection of seventyone *suttas* which are written in verse. It has five *vaggas* or chapters which are *Uragavagga, Cūlavagga,*

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Mahāvagga, Aṭṭhakavagga and *Pārāyanavagga.* The *Uragavagga* contains twelve *suttas.* They are *Uraga, Dhaniya, Khaggavisāna, Kasibhāradvāja, Cuṇḍa, Parābhava, Vasala, Metta, Hemavata, Ālavaka, Vijaya* and *Muni.* The *Cūlavagga* consists of fourteen *suttas.* They are *Ratana, Amagandha, Hiri, Mahāmaṅgala, Sūciloma, Dhammacariya, Brāhmaṇadhammika, Nāvā, Kiṁsāla, Uṭṭhāna, Rāhula, Vaṅgīsa, Sammāparibhājaniya,* and *Dhammika.* The *Mahāvagga* deals with twelve *suttas* and they are *Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Subhāsita, Sundarikabhāradvāja, Māgha, Sabhiya, Sela, Salla, Vāseṭṭha, Kokāliya, Nālaka* and *Dvayatānupassanā.* The *Aṭṭhakavagga* has sixteen *suttas* and they are *Kāma, Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka, Paramaṭṭhaka, Jarā, Tissametteyya, Passūra, Māgandiya, Purābheda, Kalehavivāda, Cūḷaviyūha, Mahāviyūha, Tuvaṭaka, Attadaṇḍa* and *Sāriputta.* The *Pārāyaṇavagga* mentions *suttas* and they are *Vatthugāthā, Ajitamānavapucchā, Tissametteyamānavapucchā, Puṇṇakāmaṇavapucchā, Mettagumāṇavapucchā, Dhotakamāṇavapucchā, Upasivamāṇavapucchā, Nandamāṇavapucchā, Hemakamāṇavapucchā, Todeyyamāṇavapucchā, Kappamāṇavapucchā, Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā, Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā, Udayamāṇavapucchā, Posālamāṇavapucchā, Mogharājamāṇavapucchā,* and *Pingiyamāṇavapucchā.* The *Sutta Nipāta* is an important work of the *Khuddaka Nikāya.* It throws light on the social, economic and religious conditions of ancient India during the Buddha's time. It mentions the six heretical teachers and the *samaṇas* and the *brāhmaṇas.* "It gives us sufficient aid to the study of Buddhism as an ethical religion". Dr. Rhys Davids states "It is the result of communistic than of individual effort" It discusses the philosophical and ethical teachings of the Buddha and the ideals of a Buddhist monk. Prof. Fausboll remarks, it is "an important contribution of the right understandings of primitive Buddhism. for we see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of the hermits in its first stage. We have before us, not the sytematising of the later Buddhist church but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness".

(A) The *Uragavagga*

(1) The *Uragasutta*:[584] The monk, who renounced all human passions—anger, hatred, passion, craving, arrogance, doubts and desires who did not see any essence in the existences, who

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conquered all delusion, who became free from covetouasness and folly, whose sins were destroyed from the root, who had no fear or suffering, was compared to a snake that throws away its skin.

(2) The *Dhaniya Sutta*:[585] *Dhaniya* was mentioned as a rich herdsman. He had a happy family life. He had many milch cows and had good wife and sons. He used to enjoy his worldly life very much. One day he had a conversation with the Buddha who became happy to see his religious beliefs and his pure and virtuous life. He also requested the sky to rain when it pleased, and then at once he found a shower from the sky. *Dhaniya* wished to accept the religion of the Buddha as his religion. He "wanted to take refuge in the Buddha".

(3) The *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*:[586] It is better to avoid family life, friendship and intercourse with others. Because there are vices in society. Therefore, it is the duty of one to leave the corrupted state of society and to renounce the world and to spend his time quietly and to lead a solitary life. But when one meets a clever, wise and righteous person as his companion, he can move with him and he becomes happy and thoughtful. Family life and friendship help to bring sensual pleasures. It is better to avoid a wicked companion who says useless thing and moves in a wrong way.

(4) The *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta*:[587] Kasibhāradvāja was a *brāhmaṇa*. He used to plough, sow and work hard on the field for his livelihood. One day he saw Gotama while the latter was going from door to door for alms, and he did not like it and he abused him for his idleness. But Gotama told him that he also ploughed and sowed because his faith was the seed, penance was the rain, understanding was the yoke and plough, modesty was the pole, mind was the tie, and thoughtfulness was the ploughshare and goad. He said further to him that he also played a great role for helping him in the attainment of *Nibbāna*.

(5) The *Cuṇḍa Sutta*:[588] Cuṇḍa was a smith. The Buddha told him that there were four types of *Samaṇas* when the latter asked him about these *Samaṇas*. They were *Maggajinas*, *Maggadesakas*, *Maggajivins* and *Maggadūsins*. The Buddha then gave an account of peculiar traits of each particular type.

(6) The *Parābhava Sutta*:[589] While the Buddha was staying at the Jetavana, one night a god came there, and paid his respect to him and wanted to know from him the cause of loss to the losing

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man. The Buddha then gave his reply and mentioned him that he was the winner who had respect for *Dhamma* and he was the loser who had no faith in it and who hated it. The losing man always liked wicked men and their religion and his religion also was full of vices and bad deeds. The wise man who had insight and who cultivated the happy world of the gods carefully considered all these losses.

(7) The *Vasala Sutta:*[590] While the Venerable Gotama was living in the Jatavana, one day for alms he came to the house of Aggikabhāradvāja, who was a *brāhmaṇa.* But the latter referred to Gotama as an outcaste. The Buddha then said to him that he was not an outcaste and he mentioned that it was not by birth that one became an utcaste, not by birth that one became a *brāhmaṇa,* it was by deeds alone that one became an outcaste or a *brāhmaṇa.*

(8) The *Mettā Sutta:*[591] A man who wants to avoid rebirth should be gentle, upright and conscientious. It is his duty not to do anything which is mean or harmful. He must be contented and unburdened and should not behave like an arrogant. It is his duty to cultivate a boundless mind towards all beings and good will towards the world.

(9) The *Hemavata Sutta:*[592] Sātāgira and Hemavata were two *Yakkhas.* They had doubts about the qualities of the Venerable Gotama, and for this purpose they came to Gotama and asked him about the means of deliverance from the snares of death. The Buddha told them "the different stages of a life that was aspirant after becoming the all-knowing, the wise, the great *rishis,* walking in the noble path"

(10) The *Ālavaka Sutta:*[593] Once the Buddha was staying at *Āḷavī, Yakkha* Ālavaka, the king of the region, visited him and in an angry mood asked him several questions as to what in this world was regarded as the best property for a man, what brought happiness, how one was able to cross the stream of existence, how one obtained understanding etc. The Buddha then gave his reply and the king was fully satisfied and he accepted the religion of the Buddha.

(11) The *Vijaya Sutta:*[594] Very few men are able to see the body as it is. It is said that it is full of impurities which move in nine streams, in it there are intestines, liver, stomach, abdomen, heart, lungs, kidneys etc., and the hollow head has brain. When dead,

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then nobody takes any interest in it and dogs, jackals and other animals eat it. Only a monk who has understanding and knowledge knows it clearly, finds the body as it is, and understands its worthlessness. And, in course of time, he obtains *Nibbāna*.

(12) The *Muni Sutta*:[595] This *sutta* gives the meaning of a word *muni*. A *muni* always stays in a homeless state and has no acquaintance. He has destroyed his sin, he is free from desire, and knows the end of birth and destruction. He has no strife and covetousness and he has conquered everything and he knows everything. He is thoughtful, he has no passion and enjoys in meditations. He is firm, solitary, well-restrained and has no sensual enjoyment. He is mentioned as a *muni* who always stays above a householder.

(B) The *Cūlavagga*

(1) The *Ratana Sutta*:[596] The *Ratana Sutta* describes that for all beings whether they are dwelling in the air or on the earth, here or in the other world, or whatever wealth can be found or whatever excellent jewel which exists in the heavens, but there is nothing which is equal to the Buddha, there is nothing which is equal to the *Dhamma* and there is nothing which is equal to the *Saṁgha*. The Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṁgha* cannot be compared with anything in the air or on the earth or in the other world or in the heavens. Thus for salvation it is the duty of all beings to take refuge in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṁgha* than in anything else.

(2) The *Āmagandha Sutta*:[597] A *brāhmaṇa* once said against Kassapa Buddha because the latter took food which was rice and well-prepared flesh of birds. Then Kassapa Buddha told him that eating of flesh was not considered as *āmagandha* because it does not defile one. Mind which is corrupt and activities which are harmful not only help to defile a man but also take him to follow a path which practically destroys him. Neither hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor penances can do something which helps to purify a mortal of such efilement.

(3) The *Hiri Sutta*:[598] The *Hiri Sutta* deals with true friendship. A friend is never considered as real friend who in time of need does not give his help. He is not a real friend who only says pleasing words to his friends but which do not produce any good result,

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and who only tries to find out fault in friends, and who wishes for fruits and does something which gives only joy and nothing else.

(4) The *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta*:[599] While the Buddha was staying at the jetavana, then one night a deity came to him and wanted to know from him about the highest blessing. The Buddha then told him that the highest blessing existed in cultivating and in following the society of wise men, in having performed mertorious deeds in a former existence, in trying to wait upon the superiors, in ceasing and in abstaining from sin, in reverence, in humility, and in other virtues and in living which was a religious life, in penance, and in chastity and in the attinment of *Nibbāna*.

(5) The *Sūciloma Sutta*:[600] Once the Blessed One was staying at Gayā, a *Yakkha* named Sūciloma wanted to know from him whether the Buddha was really a *Samaṇa* or *Samaṇaka* (wretched *Samaṇa*), and asked him about the origin of passion, hatred, delight, horror and doubt. The Buddha then explained to him that all these took their origin in the body, and their origin took place in desire and they appeared in self.

(6) The *Dhammacariya Sutta* or the *Kapila Sutta*:[601] One who has accepted the life of a monk should follow a religious life. It is not good to injure others. It is his duty not to do something which brings pleasure in quarrelling; otherwise he would fall into a bad state from womb to womb and after sometime his life would be painful. One who is not free from sin is difficult for him to make himself free from sin and to purify himself. Thus the Buddhist monks should always avoid the company of bad people.

(7) The *Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta*:[602] Once the Buddha was staying at the Jetavana-*Vihāra*, some old, decrepit but rich *brāhmaṇas* met the Buddha and wanted to know from him about the customs of the ancient *brāhmaṇas*. The Buddha told them that they used to lead a very high moral standard of life. But a change took place in them when they saw the prosperity of the king and adorned women. The *brāhmaṇas* gradually became changed people. They became greedy and they used to request the king to give offerings and sacrifices of animals so that they might have a chance to get something. Thus gradually *dhamma* disappeared from the mind of the *brhamaṇas*. The *brāhmaṇas* became fully satisfied when they heard the Buddha's conversation and became his followers.

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(8) The *Nāvā Sutta:*[603] A man who gets his lessons of *Dhamma* from a worthy teacher is able to receive the highest *Dhamma.* But one who serves a low teacher who does not know the *Dhamma* goes to death. A man who has no knowledge of the *Dhamma* is unable to help another to do it. But one who is well-versed in the *Dhamma* can easily help others to give them the highest knowledge. For this reason one should follow the society of a learned and intelligent man.

(9) The *Kiṁsīla Sutta:*[604] A man, who is desirous of attaining the highest good, should not behave like envious, obstinate and careless. He should devote his time and energy to his studies and religious discourses and above all he should follow the *Dhamma* and should practise self-restraint and chastity. *Dhamma* is regarded as his first and last concern and he should behave like a person who is free from infatuation. Those who successfully reach this stage can be able to establish themselves in peace and meditation and earn the essence of learning and understanding.

(10) The *Uṭṭhāna Sutta:*[605] A person who is sick has got suffering and pain, because he is pierced by the arrow and therefore, he has no rest and he is unable to sleep. For the sake of peace it is his duty to rise up and learn steadfastly, and should do something in order to conquer the desires. Indolence is mentioned as defilement. Therefore, one should not behave like an indolent and must act like an energetic person.

(11) The *Rāhula Sutta:*[606] The Buddha told Rāhula to accept the life of a recluse and asked him to show his respect to the wise man and to dwell with him constantly. He warned him and asked him to stay away from the pleasures of the world and taught him the principles of moderation.

(12) The *Vaṅgīsa Sutta:*[607] Once the Blessed One was staying at Ālavī, Vaṅgīsa knew the fate of his teacher Nigrodhakappa who had obtained bliss (*aciraparinibbāna*). He wished to know from the Buddha whether he was completely extinguished or whether there were some elements of existence with him. The Buddha then told him that for name and form in this world his teacher became free from craving and there was no birth and death in him and for this reason he had been completely extinguished.

(13) The *Sammāparibbājaniya Sutta:*[608] A monk who has renounced the sinful signs, controlled his passions, conquered

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existence, has known the *Dhamma* and has thrown away behind him slander, anger and avarice and has become a free man from bonds and has liberated himself from these, such person will move rightly in the world. He who does not find any essence in the attachments, who is unopposed in this world, who has no feelings for pride, who is free from sins and affections and above all, who is always looking for the realisation of *Nibbāna*, such a person moves rightly in the world.

(14) The *Dhammika Sutta*:[609] Once the Buddha was living in the Jetavana-*vihāra*, an *upāsika* named Dhammika came to see him and asked him "what the life of a monk and what the life of a householder ought to be"? A monk must not move about at a wrong time, he must restrain his senses and desires, "he must reflect within himself" and when he talks, he must talk only the *Dhamma* and nothing else. It is the duty of a *sāvaka* or a householder to behave like a good person. It is his duty not to kill anything. He must behave like a person who is free from greed and theft and falsehood and an unchaste life. He must avoid intoxicating drinks. He should try to practise abstinence on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the half-month and should invite monks for food and drink.

(C) The *Mahāvagga*

(1) The *Pabbajjā Sutta*:[610] Bimbisāra, the King of Magadha, found Gautama from a distance when the latter came to Giribbaja in Magadha for alms and from his enquiries he knew from his messangers that the sage was living in the Pāṇḍava hill. The king then visited this hill and met him and tried to allure him by wealth and asked him about his birth and family. The Buddha then told him that he belonged to the *Sākiyas* (*Śākyas*) of Kosala, he left his worldly life end took the life of a recluse, he was not fond of sensual pleasures and saw misery in them.

(2) The *Padhāna Sutta*:[611] In order to obtain *Nibbāna* when the Buddha engaged himself in meditation, Māra, the Evil one, with his eightfold army of lust, discontent, hunger and thirst, craving, sloth, cowardice, doubt, hypocrisy and stupor then visited this place and tried to disturb him. The Buddha sat on his seat firmly and was very steady and fought with him bravely and told "woe upon life in this world, death in battle is better for me than I should live defeated". Māra was unable to disturb his meditation

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and could not do anything against him and then he disappeared from that place.

(3) The *Subhāsita Sutta:*[612] This *sutta* says that there are four requisites in a language of a monk. It describes further that the language should be well-spoken, should be pleasing, should be right and should be true.

(4) The *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta:*[613] Once the Buddha was staying on the river Sunarikā, then Sundarikabhāradvāja, who was a *brāhmaṇa*, visited this place for offering and oblation and told him that he was a *brāhmaṇa* and wanted to make an offering and asked him "to whom an offering might well be made?" The Buddha then mentioned to him that one occupied a place worth of receiving an offering by conduct only and not by descent. He described to him that when a man was endowed with the good conduct and high moral and intellectual powers, then he was considered as a worthy person to receive such an honour.

(5) The *Māga Sutta:*[614] Once the Buddha was living in Rājagaha, then a young man named Māgha, who was a liberal and beautiful giver, visited the place of the Buddha and asked him about persons who were worthy of receiving offerings. The Buddha then told him that the good conduct, high moral and intellectual powers were the good qualities which made a man worthy of receiving such an honour. He then gave an account of the various kinds of blessings of offerings.

(6) The *Sabhiya Sutta:*[615] In order to know answers of some questions a *paribbājaka* named Sabhiya visited the six famous teachers of his time and asked them about his questions and their answers. But they were unable to satisfy him. He then went to Gotama and wanted to know from him about one's behaviour to become a *brāhmaṇa*, a *samaṇa*, a *nahātaka*, a *khettajina*, a *kusala*, a *paṇḍita*, a *muni*, a *veddagū*, an *anuvidita*, a *dhīra*, an *ariya*, a *paribbājaka* and so forth. He was fully satisfied from the Buddha's answers and Sabhiya became a follower of the Buddha and took the robe from the Buddha and accepted Buddhism as his religion.

(7) The *Sela Sutta:*[616] The Buddha and his assembly once got invitation from a *Jaṭila* named Keṇiya to take meals with him. Sela was a *brāhmaṇa*. He came to that place with three hundred young men, and he saw the preparation and he asked about it. They told

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him that the Buddha was coming to take his meal there. He then asked them about the place where the Buddha lived. He went there and met the Buddha. he had a conversation with him and he was fully satisfied and he became his follower and accepted Buddhism as his religion.

(8) The *Salla Sutta*:[617] The *Salla Suta* describes that life is short and all mortals will die but the wise do not lament because they know the terms of the world. Thus persons who are free from sorrow are happy people and "they will be blessed".

(9) The *Vaseṭṭa Sutta*:[618] Bhāradvāja and Vāsaṭṭa were two young men. The former said that a man became a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, while the latter remarked that a man by his deeds became a *brāhmaṇa*. For this reason there arose a dispute between them. They then went to Samaṇa. Gotama to solve their problems. Gotama told them that a lman by his deeds became a *brāhmaṇa*. They then became his followers fand were converted to Buddhism.

(10) The *Kokāliya Sutta*:[619] Kokāliya was a monk. He once told the Buddha about the evil desires of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. But he did not behave properly. His this behaviour was not considered as worthy of a monk. When he left the Buddha he got boils and soon he died. He went to the *Paduma* hell. The Buddha told the monks about the punishment received by back-biters in hell.

(11) The *Nālaka Sutta*:[620] Asita was a sage. He was also known as Kaṇhasiri. He one day asked the gods about the cause of their rejoicing. They told him that the birth of the Buddha took place and they were celebrating it. He then came down from the *Tusita* heaven and saw the child and made a forecast about him. Nālaka was Asita's sister's son. The Buddha gave him an account of the highest state of wisdom.

(12) The *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta*:[621] Once the Buddha was staying at Sāvatthī with the assembly of monks. here he told them about the origin of pain and suffering. In this world pain originated from substance, ignorance, confections, consciousness, contact, sensation, desire, attachment, effort, food, sign, support, form, theft and happiness.

(D) The *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*

(1) The *Kāma Sutta*:[622] Whoever wants to enjoy sensual pleasures,

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will suffer from pain and sins no doubt overpower him. Thus it is better to avoid sensual pleasures.

(2) The *Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta*:[623] A man, who clings to the body and to physical pleasures, and cries to live at the time of death, is an unfortunate man, and suffers from pain. He, who does not want his deliverance, adheres to physical existence and sensual pleasures.

(3) The *Duṭṭaṭṭhaka Sutta*:[624] One who speakes highly of his own virtue and is fully dependent upon dogmas of philosophy that help to change from man to man and sect to sect leads a life which is not praiseworthy but it is a censured life. But a *muni* or a sage is not censured. Because he is calm and quiet and never praises himself and his own virtue. Because he has thrown away all systems of philosophy and it is for this reason he is independent.

(4) The *Suddhaṭṭhaka Sutta*:[625] Knowledge of the systems of philosophy is unable to purify a man. Because those persons, who are devoted to philosophy, move from one teacher to another and they do not behave like calm and quiet and thoughtful persons. But the wise persons, who have fully realised the *Dhamma*, lead a life which is free from passion and they never accept anything in the world as the highest.

(5) The *Paramaṭṭhaka Sutta*:[626] It is not the duty of one to give oneself up to philosophical disputations. A *brāhmaṇa* is unchangeable because he does not accept any system of philosophy. Therefore, he has obtained *Nibbāna*.

(6) The *Jarā Sutta*:[627] Grief and avarice arise from selfishness. A Buddhist monk, who has left the worldly life and moves from one place to another and accepts the life of homeless, is independent and never takes the help of another person for his purification.

(7) The *Tissametteya Sutta*:[628] Here the Buddha told Tissa Metteya that all types of vice go in the train of sensual intercourse. Therefore, it is better to avoid all these things.

(8) The *Pasūra Sutta*:[629] Disputants always quarrel among themselves and they mention each other as fools. They think for praise, but when they are unable to fulfil their wish then they are not happy persons and discontentment appears in them.

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(9) The *Māgandiya Sutta:*[630] There was a conversation between Māgandiya and the Buddha. The former wished to give his daughter to the Buddha as his wife but the Buddha did not accept her. Māgandiya said that purity appeared from philosophy, but, according to the Buddha, it arose from "inward peace". The *muni* is known as a confessor of peace. He is a preacher of peace. He does not quarrel.

(10) The *Purābheda Sutta:*[631] Here the Buddha refers to the conduct and characteristics of a *muni*, who is calm and quiet. He has no craving, anger, desire, passion and attachment. He is known as equable and thoughtful. He has no house and he does not possess anything in this world. Nothing belongs to him. He always follows the path of *Dhamma*.

(11) The *Kalahavivāda Sutta:*[632] This *sutta* refers to the origin of contentions and disputes. It says that contentions and disputes arise from the dear objects which take their origins from wish. Wish appears from pleasure and displeasure and pleasure and displeasure take their roots from touch (*phassa*) etc.

(12) The *Cāḷaviyūha Sutta:*[633] This *sutta* describes disputing philosophers. The different schools of thought never agree with each other and they always contradict one another. They announce different types of truths, but it is to be noted here that the truth is mentioned as only one. Thus as long as discontentment, strife and quarrel remain in the world so long exist disputations. Thus where there will be disputations, there we will find discontentment, dissatisfaction and quarrel.

(13) The *Mahāviyūha Sutta:*[634] This *sutta* mentions that philosophers "cannot lead to purity" and they only speak highly of their own virtue and bitterly criticise other people. But a *brāhmaṇa* is free from all disputes and he keeps himself away from learning. Because he leads a very calm, quiet and peaceful life.

(14) The *Tuvaṭaka Sutta:*[635] In order to obtain bliss, it is the duty of a monk to destroy the root of sin and also the root of all cravings. He must learn the *Dhamma* and must not wish peace from any other quarter. He must behave like a calm and meditative person. He must follow other duties of a monk in a very strict way and in a very proper way. It is his duty to avoid boasting, indolence and other human vices. He must not talk much.

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(15) The *Attandaṇḍa Sutta*:[636] This *sutta* gives an account of an accomplished *muni*. He is an accomplished *muni* who is truthful, undeceitful and sober and who has no avarice and slander. He must not behave like an indolent an he does not feel for name and form, and he has not fallen from truth. He must be a thoughtful person and fully understands the highest wisdom.

(16) The *Sāriputta Sutta*:[637] The Buddha told Sāriputta that a monk should follow some principles in his life. A wise and thoughtful monk is always afraid of the five dangers or of adversaries. It is his duty to learn to endure cold and heat, not to commit theft or not to speak falsehood. He must not fall into the power of anger or arrogance. Wisdom will always guide him. He must lead a very moderate life.

(E) The *Pārāryana Vagga*

(1) The *Vatthu gāthā*:[638] Bāvāri, who was a *brāhmaṇa*, used to live on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Assaka region. Another *brāhmaṇa* came there and wanted five hundred pieces of money from him. But Bāvāri was unable to give him and the *brāhmaṇa* became unhappy and abused him and cursed him. He told him, "May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven". A deity then showed his sympathy towards Bāvāri and told him about the Buddha. Then sixteen disciples from Bāvāri came to the Buddha and they asked him sixteen questions and the Buddha satisfied them fully by giving his reply.

(2) The *Ajitamāṇavapucchā*:[639] The Buddha told Ajita that the world was covered with ignorance and it was due to avarice, the world could not shine and desire was mentioned as its pollution. He referred to the dam of desire as thoughtfulness, and mentioned further that with the help of the cessation of consciousness the desire for "name and form" could be stopped.

(3) The *Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā*:[640] The Buddha told Tissametteya that the monk, who was free from sensual pleasures, and desire, was always in thoughtful mood and became glad by reflection; he had no commotions, and he know both ends and it was for this reason he did not like to follow the middle and never concentrated his ideas on it. That is why, he became known as a great man and he was able to conquer craving in this world.

(4) The *Puṇṇakamāṇavapucchā*:[641] The Buddha told the

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Venerable Puṇṇaka that all recluses and men, *khattiyas* and *brāhmaṇas*, who offered sacrifices, wanted something, i.e., praise and sensual pleasures and it was for this reason they were unable to cross Over birth and old age. He was able to cross over birth and old age when he had no commotion, he was calm and quiet and he was a free man.

(5) The *Mettagūmāṇavapucchā*:[642] Once Mettagu asked the Buddha about the origin of pain. The Buddha then explained to him that *Upadhi* was the reason for pain. He told further that wise man crossed the stream of birth and old age when they understood thoroughly the *Dhamma* and when they were thoughtful.

(6) The *Dhotakamāṇavapucchā*:[643] The Buddha told Dhotaka that one was able to learn his own extinction when he was wise and thoughful and when he knew the best *Dhamma* well. There was no doubt in him; he was calm and independent and he had no desire and thirst for reiterated existence.

(7) The *Upasīvamāṇavapucchā*:[644] The Buddha told Upasīva that one can obtain *Nibbāna* when he is free from doubts and sensual pleasures, and when he reflects on nothingness day and night. He stays there without going further and thus after delivering from name anybody he cannot be mentioned anymore as existing.

(8) The *Nandamāṇavapucchā*:[645] Anyone is known as *muni* not because of any philosophical view, nor of knowledge. Because purity arises from neither of these. *Samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, who keep a contrary view and live accordingly in the world, are unable to cross over birth and old age. But it is to be noted here that there are *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* who are able to cross over them because they have abandoned craving and they are independent.

(9) The *Hemakamāṇavapucchā*:[646] The Buddha told Hemaka that the abandonment to passion and of desire was mentioned as the imperishable state of *Nibbāna*. Those who knew it very well also fully realised the *Dhamma* and they were calm and quiet and were thoughtful persons.

(10) The *Todeyyamāṇavapucchā*:[647] The Buddha told Todeyya that there was no other deliverance for a person who was free from lust, craving and doubt. He had understanding and realised the *Dhamma* fully.

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(11) The *Kappamāṇavapucchā*:[648] The Buddha told the Venerable Kappa that in the middle of a stream there was an island which was known as *Nibbāna*. It did not possess anything and it grasped at nothing and it destroyed decay and death.

(12) The *Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā*:[649] The Buddha had a conversation with Jatukaṇṇi. The former told him that it was better to renounce greediness for sensual pleasures and for name and form. Then passions disappeared. Because he had a chance to fall into the power of death.

(13) The *Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā*:[650] The Buddha told Bhadrāvudha that it was not the duty of a monk to grasp after anything in the world because whatever they tried to grasp after, then Māra, the Evil One, followed him.

(14) The *Udayamāṇavapucchā*:[651] The Buddha told Udaya that deliverance appeared there when one abandoned lust, desire, grief and sloth and when one understood and realised the *Dhamma* fully. The world was surrounded by pleasure and when one renounced desire, he then was able to obtain *Nibbāna*. When one was thoaguhtful, and when one got pleasure not in sensation then there was no place for consciousness in him.

(15) The *Posālamāṇavapucchā*:[652] The Buddha, who understood all the faces of consciousness, had a conversation with the Venerable Posala. He knew that the bonds of pleasure did not appear in nothingness and he had a clear idea in this matter, "knowledge of a perfect accomplished *brāhmaṇa*".

(16) The *Mogharājamāṇavapucchā*:[653] The Buddha told the Venerable Mogharājan that it was good to think the world as void and to feel himself as not existing and one should always behave like thoughtuful. If he did this way, then he would be able to conquer death.

(17) The *Piṅgiyamāṇavapucchā*:[654] The Buddha told piṅgiya that when one with an idea of not coming to exist again left the body and desire behind. then, he would be able to overcome birth and decay.

(VI) The *Vimānavatthu*

The *Vimānavatthu*:[655] is the sixth book of the *Khuddaka Nlkāya*. It has eighty-five stories is verse and it is divided into seven

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vaggas. It describes various celestial abodes which were used by the *devas* for their meritorious deeds and they performed these deeds in their previous lives. Moggallāna, Vagīsa and others learnt these stories from the *Devas* during their stay in the *deva* world and they then said to the Buddha.[656] In order to receive bliss after death it is the duty of everyone to follow the right path and to lead a life which is purend to perform meritorious deeds. It discusses and gives emphasis on individual morality and duty and throws light on the effect of good *karma* and bad *karma*. The Buddhists think that there is a limit of the highest of pleasures which the heavens give. They are unable to bring about a final release from evil and thus the experiences in heaven — although they are enjoyable, yet they are evils and for this reason they should be guarded against their luring attractiveness. Lord Zetland[657] says that "the heavens and hells, of which we read so much in the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*, may be said to exist for the purpose of providing a more elaborate stage than this earth can do, or the play of the ever revolving cycle of existence and all that it involves". B.C. Law mentions it. He states that[658] "the descriptions of the pleasures of heaven and the sorrow of hells are interesting as showing the nature of the rewards and punishment which in those early days were considered appropriate to particular acts of piety and to particular sins". Mrs. Rhys Davids gives an account of it. She describes,[659] "The whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books (the *Petavatthu* and the *Vimānavatthu*) is historically interesting as being, in all probability, the source of a good deal of mediaeval Christian belief in heaven and hell. But the greater part of these books, composed according to a set of pattern, is devoid of style; and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in this Appendix".

(VII) The *Petavatthu*[660]

The *Petavatthu* is the seventh book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It has fifty-one stories in verse and it is divided into four *vaggas*. It mentions stories of persons born in the *peta*-world because of various misdeeds. Its little poems refer to belief in the existence of life beyond death and sufferings after death because one did many evil acts while one stayed on earth. It gives accounts of *peats* (ghosts) who are born in hell (in the *peta*-world) because they have done many evil deeds while on earth. The main aim of

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the *Petavatthu* and the *Vimanavatthu* is to remind the doctrine of *karma*.

(VIII) The *Theragāthā*[661]

The *Theragāthā* is the eighth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It can be mentioned as a collection of poems and these poems are ascribed to the *theras*. It is said that some of the poems were sung by *theras* during the Buddha's life-time. Most probably other poems were sung shortly after the Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāna*. The *Theragāthā* has one thousand three hundred and sixty *gāthās* which are attributed to two hundred sixty-four monks. From these poems we learn about the religious theories and feelings which were prevalent in the Buddhist order or *Saṁgha* when these poems were composed.

(IX) The *Therīgāthā*[662]

The *Therīgāthā* is the ninth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is a collection of poems. It contains five hundred and twenty-two *gāthās* which are ascribed to seventy-three nuns or *therīs* or sisters in the *Saṁgha* during the Buddha's life-time. "A good many of the verses ascribed to them are beautiful in form, and not a few give evidence of a very high degree of that mental self-culture which played so great a part in the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life".[663] The main aim of the *Theragāthā* and the *Therīgāthā* is to give us the important points of the Buddhist philosophy of life, the principal characteristics as well as the fundamentals of Buddhism. From the point of view of the *kāvya* literature they have a great value no doubt. They throw a flood of light on the real picture of ancient Indian life, social condition, religious life and also social position of women in ancient India. These two texts can be mentioned as "the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru".[664] M. Winternitz[665] mentions the *theras* and the *therīs*. He remarks "the *theras* and *the therīs* are the male and female 'elders', primarily the first and most prominent male and female disciples of Buddha himself, and then those members of the order who were venerable by reason of their age and still more by their moral and spiritual qualities. Though *thera*, fem. *therī*, Sanskrit *sthavira*, means "old", the title was determined rather by those qualities which inspire reverence, than by age or seniority. There

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was neither an honorary office nor privilages or duties of any kind in connection with this honorary title". These *gāthās* refer to the spiritual experience whih a monk or a nun has obtained when he or she has established his or her contact with the Buddha and his religion.

(X) The *Jātaka*[666]

The *Jātaka* is the tenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The main aim of the *Jātaka* is to inspire the minds of the people and to create faith in Buddhism and to popularise the religion of the Buddha. The *Jātaka* gives us an account of the economic, political and religious life and social customs of ancient India during the time of the Buddha. The *Jātaka* refers to the tales of the previous existences or the former births of the Buddha. The word *Jātaka* is derived from $\sqrt{jan}$ meaning birth, but in Buddhism it is used in technical sense. In Buddhism it means "the previous existences of the Buddha". Thus the *Jātaka* can be mentioned as the "stories of former births of Buddha" or "Bodhisattva stories". There are five hundered and fifty *Jātaka* stories which mention the Buddha's past life. From the *Jātaka* commentary it is known that a *Jātaka* has the following constituent parts: (i) *Paccupannavatthu*, i.e., the story of the present time mentioning the circumstances in which the Buddha told the story in question, (ii) *Atītavatthu*, i.e., the story of the past in which a story of one of the former births of the Buddha is told, (iii) *Gāthās* (verses) which generally form part of the story of the past but which are very often a part of the story of the present—they are referred to as *Abhisambuddhagāthā* (verses spoken by the Buddha after his enlightenment), (iv) *Veyyākaraṇa* (short commentary) which describes the *Gāthās* word for word, and (v) *Samodhāna* (connection) in which the Buddha discussed the different characters of the story of the present with those of the past. Most of the *Jātakas* are written in prose and in verse.

It is said that the *Jātaka* was written in North India in the "middle country" (*Madhya deśa*).[667] It is written in prose and verse and it has twenty-two sections (*nipātas*) and they are arranged according to the number of verses contained in a *Jātaka*.[668] The first section has 150 *Jātakas*, each verse gives a separate story;[669] the second section contains 100 *Jātakas*, with two verses each;[670] the third section has 50 *Jātakas*, with three

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verses each, and so on.[671] Each successive section (*nipāta*) has a larger number of stanzas and a smaller number of the *Jātakas*. It is difficult to say when the *Jātakas* in their present form came into existence nor how many of these were included among the original number. In the time of the *Culla Niddesa*, there were five hundred *Jātakas*, because there is a reference to *pañcajātakasatāni*. Bas-reliefs of the third century were found and they gave a number of *Jātaka* stories, and they signify the existence of a prose collection. Several *Jātakas* exist in the canonical books but they are not included in the *Jātaka* collection. The *Jātaka* has twenty-two sections or *nipātas*.

Here is given an account of some of the *Jātaka* stories.[672]

A young man saw a dead mouse and sold it. He then received some money from it and with it he began his trade and became a rich man. (*Cullakaseṭṭhi Jātaka*, I). There were no competent valuers (*Taṇḍulanāli* Jātaka,I). A king saw a grey hair in his head and he renounced his family life (*Makhādeva Jātaka — Nimi Jātaka*, I). A king of the deer once saved his own life and also at the risk of his own life saved the life of all creatures (*Nigrodhaminga Jātaka*, I). A *brāhmaṇa* wanted to offer food to the dead and for this purpose he wished to sacrifice a goat which gave signs of great joy and of great sorrow. The goat then said the reason for each emotion (*Matakabhatta Jātaka*)." True release does not lie in offering sacrifice" (*Āyacitabhatta Jātaka*, I). The *Kulavaka Jātaka* describes as to how a man through the practice of goodness was able to go to heaven and how his three wives for their good deeds were reborn in heaven. A tree caught fire, the wise birds flew, and the foolish ones stayed there and fire destroyed them (*Sakuna Jātaka*, I.) The *Aṇḍabhīsta Jātaka* (Vol. I) discusses the innate wickedness of women. With the help of a flying horse some ship-wrecked mariners were able to escape from a city of goblins (*Valāhassa Jātaka*, II). Some men by digging got a treasure, but they dug too much and again they lost it (*Jaruapāna Jātaka*, II). A brave man was able to save a caravan from robbers (*Khurappa Jātaka*, II). A king was captured and at the hands of his enemy he suffered much, but he was able to win over the heart of his enemy by his patience and suffering and his enemy repented for it (*Ekarāja Jātaka*,III). A wicked king very badly treated an ascetic who without any protest patiently endured it. But the king got the result for his bad behaviour and

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he was thrown into hell (*Khantivādī Jātaka*, III). Sakka was happy with an ascetic and gave him boons. The ascetic "made a wise choice of boons" (*Kaṇha Jātaka*, IV). A king used to eat human flesh. For his favourite food he used to kill his own subjects. When everybody knew it, then he was thrown out of his kingdom. Once he got a king who was his friend and teacher. But he allowed him to go on the condition that he would return as soon as he fulfilled his promise. The king returned to that place and at his request the man-eater gave up his taste for human flesh (*Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, V). A king asked an ascetic about the various moral duties. He was not free from sensual pleasures but his daughter was virtuous. She saved him from heretical beliefs and he was converted by the Buddha (*Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka*, VI).

(XI) The *Niddesa*[673]

The *Niddesa* is the eleventh book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It has two parts — the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa*. The *Mahāniddesa* is mentioned as a collection of word-by-word annotations of 210 verses of 16 *suttas* in the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*.[674] The *Cullaniddesa* contains comments on 118 verses of 18 *suttas* of the *Pārāyaṇa Vagga* and 41 verses of one *sutta* in the same *Sutta Nipāta*.[675] The *Niddesa* is a commentarial work and is ascribed to Sāriputta. It has a detailed explanation by Sāriputta of the thirty-two *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyaṇa vaggas* of the *Suttanipāta*. It discusses all the *suttas* of the *Pārāyaṇavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, and the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* of the *Uragavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*. It contains comments on all these *suttas*. G.P. Malalasekera says, "It is significant that the *Culla Niddesa* contains no comments on the fifty-six (*Vatthugāthā*) introductory stanzas which preface the *Pārāyaṇa Vaggas* as at present found in the *Sutta Nipāta*. This lends support to the suggestion that at the time the *Culla Niddesa* was written the *Pārāyaṇa Vagga* was a separate anthology, and that the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* did not belong to any particular group. Similarly with the *Mahā-Niddesa* and the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. The comments in the *Niddesa* seem to have been modelled on exegatical explanations such as are attributed here and there in the *Piṭakas* to Mahākaccāna and to Sāriputta".[676] The *Niddesa*[677] refers to several schedules of *muni*-qualities which are "based on the three division action, speech and thought". It contains a divison of six *minus* character of six *munism* — *agāra-muni*, *anāgāra*

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(monks), *sekha* (learners), *asekha* (arahants), *Pacceka* (the *paccekа-* Buddhas) and *muni* (the *Tathāgata*).[678] It describes[679] two kinds of *kāmas*. "(i) *vatthukāma* — desires relating to a base, i.e., physical organ or external object (e.g., *rūpā, saddā, gandhā, rasā* etc.), and (ii) *kilesakāma* — desire considered subjectively (e.g., *chando* (desire), *rāgo* (passion), *saṃkappo* (determination) etc.)". It mentions that there are *tisso sikkhā*.[680]" (i) *adhisīla sikkhā* including *Khuddaka sīlakkhandho* and *Mahanto sīlakkhandho* (ten precepts, etc.), (ii) *adhicittasikkhā* including the four *Jhānas*, and (iii) *adhipaññāsikkhā* including *dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkha-nirodha* and *dukkha-nirodha-gāminipaṭipadā*". It says that he is a monk or a *bhikkhu* who is free from seven evil qualities — "*sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (speculation as to the eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality), *vicikicchā* (doubt), *sīlabbata-parāmāso* (the contagion of mere rule and ritual), *rāga* (passion), *doso* (malice), *moho* (delusion) and *māno* (pride)".[681] According to it, *dhono* is *paññā* or wisdom.[682] It discusses four types of oceans of evils (*oghas*) — *kāma* (desire), *bhava* (becoming or existence), *diṭṭhi* (wrong views) and *avijjā* (ignorance).[683] It says[684] *kusala* (skilful) signifies *khandha-kusala* (constituent element), *dhātu* (element), *āyatana* (element of sense-perception), *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent origination), *satipaṭṭhāna* (application of mindfulness), *sammappadhāna* (right exertion), *Iddhipāda* (bases of *iddhi* or miracle), *indirya* (sense-orgeens), *bala* (powers) *bojjha ga* (element of knowledge) *magga* (path), *phala* (fruition) and *nibbāna* (salvation). It refers to *gāmakathā* which means gossips about kings, thieves, soldiers, battles, drinking, vehicles, relatives, women etc.[685] It mentions *loko* which means various world-systems — *niraya-loka* (hell), *tiracchānayoniloka* (realm of the brute creation), *pittivisaya* (the realm of the departed spirits), *manussa, deva, khandha* (the world of sensory aggregates), *dhātu* (ten *dhātu lokas*), *āyatana* (sphere), *ayam loka* (this world), *paro loka* (the next world), *sabrahmaloka* (the world of Brahmā) and *sadevaloko* (the world of gods).[686] It describes four kinds of bonds and they are known as the four bodily ties (*kāya-gaṇṭho*): "convetousness (*abhijjhā*), malevolence (*byāpādo*), the contagion of mere rule and ritual (*sīlabbata-parāmāso*), and incilination of say: Only this is truth, i.e., inclination to dogmatise (*idaṃsaccābhinivesa*)".[687] It discusses *pubbāsava* as past *rūpaṃ* (material qualities), *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *saṃkhāra* (co-efficients of consciousness) and

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viññānaṃ (conscious- ness).[688] It refers to *vivata cakkhu* which signifies openminded, clear-sighted.[689] There are five kinds of the sense of sight:[690] bodily eye (*maṃsa cakkhu*), divine eye (*dibba cakkhu*), eye of wisdom (*paññā cakkhu*), the eye of a Buddha (*Buddha cakkhu* and all seeing (*samanta cakkhu*). It mentions *parissaya* which signifies danger, risk or trouble,[691] and it says that there are two kinds of *parissaya:* (i) *Pākaṭa*-danger which is external and this type of danger arises from lion, tiger and other ferocious beasts and also from various diseases such as cholera, leprosy etc. and (ii) *paṭicchanna*-internal danger from anger, hatred, delusion, desire etc.[692] It describes four kinds of slaves (*dāsā*): born slave (*antojātako dāso*), brought by money (*dhanakkitako dāso*), himself becomes a slave (*sānam Va dāsaisayaṃ upte*) and out of fear one becomes a slave (*akāmako vā dāsavisayaṃ upeti*).[6f93] It refers to four kinds of friends (*bandhū*)-*ñātibandhavā, gottabandhavā, mantabandhavā* and *sippabandhavā.*[694] It gives a classification of *naro—khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, Vesso, Suddo, Gahaṭṭho* (householder), *pabbajita* (monk), *devo,* and *manusso.*[695] It discusses various diseases:[696] disease of sight (*cakkhurogo*), disease of hearing (*sotaroga*), disease of smelling (*ghānarogo)* disease of taste or tongue (*jivhārogo*), disease of body (*kāyarogo*), disease of head (*sisarogo*), disease of ear (*kaṇṇa rogo),* disease of mouth *(mukha rogo)* disease of teeth (*danta rogo*) cough (*kāssa*), esthama (*sāso*), cold in the head (*pināso*), burning (*dāho*), old age disease (*jaro*), abdominal trouble (*kucchirogo*), fainting (*mucchā*), diarrhoea (*pakkhandikā*), acute pain (*sūlā),* cholera (*visūcikā*), leprosy (*kuṭṭham*), boil (*gando*), consumption (*soso*), epliepsy (*asamāro*), ringworm (*daddu*), itches (*kaṇdu*), the bile with blood (*Iohitapittam*), diabetes (*madhumeho*), boil (*pilakā*), fistula (*bhagandalā*), rising of bile (*pittasamutthāna*), rising of phlegm (*semhasamuṭṭhāna*), wind disease (*vāta samuṭṭhāna*), change of the season as cause of disease (*Utuparināmajā ābādhā*) and diseases resulting frim miscasrriage (*visamapurihāraja ābādhā).* It refers to various doctrines which the Buddha mentioned them as fruitless: sternal or non-eternal (*sassataloko, asassatoloko*), finite or infinite (*antavā loko, anantavā loko*), identity of soul and body or non-identity of the same (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sariram, aññaṁ jīvaṁ aññaṁ sariram*).[697] It mentions various religious beliefs:[698] some *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* used to worship elephants, horses, cows, dogs, crows, fire, serpent, goblin, demon, sun, moon, Inda, Brahmā, gods,

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Krishṇa and Balarāma, four directions, a kind of fairy bird, and *Puṇṇabhaddha*, a *Yakkha* etc. It is to be n here that the definition and explanation and the technical terms which are used in the *Niddesa* are entirely of the nature of the *Abhidhamma* and agree completely with those of early *Abhidhamma* books.[699] There are references to *suttantika, Vinayadhara, abhidhammika* and *sutta, Vinaya* and *abhidhamma* in the *Niddesa*.[700] Kogen Mizuno[701] remark that this indicates the existence of an *Abhidhamma* of the *Tripitaka* (*tipiṭaka*) and we may not be wrong if we say that by the time the *Niddesa* was produced, the early *Abhidhamma* books were already in existence in some form or atleast, in the course of its growth. Kogen Mizuno[702] mentions further" The *Niddesa* are the texts which gives the *abhidharmic* interpretation to such sections as the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyaṇa Vagga*, belonging to the oldest *strata*. The definition and expleanation of the causes and the technical terms are entirely of the nature of *Abhidharma* and agree completely with those of early *Abhidharma* books. Moreover, we find in the *Niddesa* such words as *suttantika, vinayadhara*, and *adhidhammika* and *sutta, vinaya* and *abhidhamma*. These were never found anywhere else either in the *Sutta* or *Vinaya Piṭaka*. From this point of view, the *Niddesa* evidently belongs to the latest part of the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Vinaya piṭaka*".

(XII) The *Paṭisambhidāmagga*[703]

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is the twelfth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. "It really belongs to the literature of the *Abhidhamma* type, and describes how analytical knowledge can be acquired by an *arahant*".[704] It gives a systematic exposition of certain important matters of Buddhism in the form of questions and answers after the manner of the *Abhidhamma* texts. "It is possible that before the development of the extant *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, it passed as one of the *Abhidhamma* treatises".[705] The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* discusses all the important times of the Buddhist doctrine. "Every item is preceded by the syllabus called *mātikā* (mother of discourse) or the concise content and a detailed commentary follows the *mātikā* or the text. The method is much the same as that adopted in the early *Abhidhamma* books. In some commentaries too, the same formal *Abhidhamma* definition has been adopted. In this respect, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* seems to belong to the same class of literature as the *Niddesa*. In these

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two books the discourse is not altogether coherant and contains an admixture of several elements. Moreover the doctrine contained there is more premitive than that of the early *Abhidhamma* books.[706] We may infer, dthrefore, that the *iddesa*and the *Paṭisamlhidānagga* belonged to the period frior to the emergence of the seven Pali *Alhidamma.*[706] Kogen mizuno refers to the *Niddesa* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga.* He describes,[707] "Today these two books belong to the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and are included in the *Sutta Piṭaka* and not in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* It seems that there was a time when these were regarded as the *Abhidharma* books. According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (the commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*), the reciter of the *Majjhima Nikāya* included these book in the *Sutta piṭaka,* as at present, but the reciter of the *Dīgha Nikāya* put them in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* In the Chines translation of the *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa, the *Niddesa* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* are frequently quoted. In the *Vimuttimagga,* the quotation from these two books is preceded by the clause "The *Abhidhamma* says" or "it is said in the *Abhidhamma*". This shows that the author of the *Vimuttimagga* regarded these two books as *Abhidhamma* literature".

According to Pali tradition,[708] Sāriputta, who was the Buddhas immediate disciples, wrote these two books. But scholars do not accept this tradition, because it was not historically true. These two books refers to the name of Sāriputta, but only in the third person.[709] Sāriputta was well-versed in the *Abhidhamma.* It was for this reason he was regarded as most competent as author of books which have an *Abhidhamma* tendency. Thus from their content and form, these two books can be mentioned as *Abhidhamma* books, instead of mentioning them as *sūtras.*[710]

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* discusses thirty doctrinal problems in three parts and in thirty chapters. It has tree *vaggas* or chapters — the *Mahāvagga,* the *Yuganandhavagga* and the *Paññāvagga* and each *vagga* deals with ten topics (*kathā*). "The treatment of the various topics is essentially scholastic in character, and whole passages are taken verbatim from the *Vinaya* and from various collections of the *Sutta Piṭaka,* while a general acquaintence with the early Buddhsit legends is assumed".[711] The first volume of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* discusses only the three out of the ten topics of the *Mahāvagga.* This volume beings with the *mātikā* which mentions the contents but not of the whole works (i.e..

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Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vol. I), "but of the Ñānakathā only, the opening chapter of the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*".[712] The second volume of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has no *mātikā*.[713]

Chaptor I : The *Mahāvagga*[714]

This chapter[715] discusses "*ñāna* or knowledge of the impermanence and sorrowfulness of the confections, of the four Aryan truths, of the chain of causation (dependent origination), of the four stages or *bhūmiyo-kāmāva-caro* (realm of lust) — *rūpāvacaro* (world of form) — *arūpāvacaro* (incorporeal world) — *Apariyāpanno* (all that are not determined by this cycle), of the miracle of the double appearances consisting in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs, as for example, streaming forth of fire and water, of omniscience of the Buddha; *diṭṭhi* or false views, e.g., holding the world to be eternal or non-eternal and finite or infinite, believer in fortuitous origin and in complete annihilation at death, etc., five *indriyas* — faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), recollection (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and reason (*paññā*); the three *vimokkhas* — devoid of soul, ego (*suññati*), the signless (*animitto*), the desireless (*appaṇihito*); action or deed (*kamma*), and the results of action (*kammavipāko*), good and bad actions (*kusala kamma* and *akusala kamma*) and their results; perversion (*vipallāsa*) of perception (*saññā*) — of thought (*citta*) — of views (*diṭṭhi*) — perceiving wrongly *anicca, dukkha, anattāni* and *asukha* as *nicca, sukha, atta*, and *subha* respectively; *magga* or the stage of righteousness and the four stages of arahantship — *Sotāpatti* (the stage of entering the path for salvation), *Sakadāgāmi* (that of returning once), *Anāgāmi* (that of the never-returner) and *Arahatta* (that of saintship)".

Chapter II: The *Yuganandhavagga*[716]

The second chapter is called the *Yuganandhavagga*. It describes[717] the four Aryan truths or the four-fold noble truth (*cattāri ariyassaccāni*) — suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path which leads to its cessation (*dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha* and *dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā*); constituents (*bojjhaṅgas*) of supreme knowledge — mindfulness (*sati*), investigation of the law (*dhammavicaya*), energy (*viriya*), rapture (*pīti*), repose (*passadhi*), concentration (*samādhi*), and equanimity

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(*upekkhā*); *lokuttara dhamma* the four *satipaṭṭhānas* (signifies the body (*kāya*), the sensations (*vedanā*), the mind (*citta*), and *dhamma* (phenomena); the four right exertions — exertions to destroy the evil *dhamma* which has not taken its growth, exertions to do something for the development of good *dhamma* which has not yet arisen, and exertions to help to maintain the good *dhamma* which has already started its development; the four bases of miracle (*iddhi*) — trying to do determination for concentration on purpose, on will, on thoughts and on investigation; the four controlling faculties — (*indriyas*) — faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), recollection (*sati*), and concentration (*samādhi*) and reason (*paññā*); the five powers which are faith, energy, recollection, concentration and reason; the seven constituents of supreme knowledge (*satta bojjhaṅga*) the noble Eightfold Path — right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*), right resolve (*sammāsaṅkappa*), right speech (*sammāvācā*) right action (*sammā kammanto*), right living (*sammā-ājiva*), right exertion (*sammā vāyāmo*), right recollection (*sammāsati*) and eight concentration (*sammāsamādhi*); the four fruits of the life of the recluse and *nibbāna* which is the final deliberation. This chapter also refer to the sixty-eight kinds of *balas* or potentialities or supernormal powers and friendliness (*mettā*).

Chapter III: The *Paññāvagga*

The chapter three is known as the *Paññāoragga*. It mentions conduct (*cariyā*). The eight *cariyās* are four postures (*iriyāpatha*) — walking, standing, sitting and lying down; *āyatana* or spheres of sense-*rūpa* (*cakkhu*), *sadda* (*sota*), *gandha* (*ghāna*), *rasa* (*jivhā*), *kāya* (*phoṭṭhabba*), *dhammā* (*mano*); application of mindfulness (*sati*) in connection with body, sensation, mind, phenomena; the four types of *jhānas* (*samādhi*) — (*paṭhamo, dutiya, tatiya* and *catuttha*), the Four Noble Truths (*ñāna*), the four Aryan path (*magga*), the four fruits of the life of the recluse (*patticariya*) and for doing something for the welfare of the world (*lokattha*). This chapter also refers to miracle (*pāṭihāriya*) (or *iddhi*), spiritual command (*ādesanā*) and inspiring instruction (*anusāsanī*).

It is to be noted here that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* should be included in the *Abhidhamma* collection. From the nature of discussion and treatment of subjects one is tempted is include this text within the *Abhidhamma* collection.

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(XIII) The *Apadāna*[719]

The *Apadāna* is the thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It deals with stories in verse which mention the pious deeds of the Buddhist monks and nuns. It is a narrative work and the title of the book signifies that it is a collection of tales of the pious works of the saints or *arahants*. The meaning of the world *Apadāna* is "pure action" or "heroic deed", and each of the *Appadānas* refers to the life of its hero or heroine in one or more previous births.[720] An "*Apadāna*" always deals with a story of the past and a story of the present. A *Jātaka* always refers to the past life of a Buddha or the previous existence of the Buddha, but an *Apadāna* describes the noble deeds of Gautama Buddha and *pacceka* Buddhas as well as other distinguished monks and nuns.[721] It may be noted here that the *Apadāna* stories give much emphasis on *pujā, vandanā, dāna* etc.

The *Apadāna* has four main sections. They are (i) the *Buddhāpadāna*, (ii) the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, (iii) the *Therāpadāna* and (iv) the *Theriapadāna*.[722] Again we find the division of these four sections into fifty-nine groups or *vaggas*. Among them, the first fifty-five *vaggas* deal with 550 tales about *theras*, each *vagga* has ten tales, and it has taken its name after the title of the first tale described in the *vagga*.[723] The last four *vaggas* of the book describe the forty tales of the *therīs* and each *vagga* has ten *tales*.[724] In the first *vagga* we find also the inclusion of the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Pac cekabuddhāpadāna* which are minor sections.[725]

(1) The Buddhāpadana: The *Buddhāpadāna*[726] is mentioned as a glorification of the Buddha, the "king of the *Dhamma* endowed with the thirty perfections (*pāramī*)". Here the Buddha himself described this glorification when the elder Vedeha asked him a question. While he was telling this glorification, the Buddha then narrated that in his previous births he performed many meritorious deeds and also he said about their good results.[727] The *Buddhāpadāna* ends in 81 stanzas and it tells the monks to do their works unitedly, heedfully and to properly follow the Noble Eightfold Path.[728]

(2) The *Paccekabuddhāpadāna:* The *Paccekabuddhādāna*[729] also known as a glorification of *paccekabuddhas* who like the rhinoceros move on their solitary path. It is to be noted here that

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"the entire *sutta* of rhinoceres (*Khaggavisña Sutta*, S.N. I, 3) is inserted here. To the 41 stanzas of that *sutta* another 17 stanzas have been added; 8 at the beginning and 9 at the end, thus making the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* a composition of 58 stanzas. This section of the book is written in a metre different from the rest of the book.[730]

(3) The *Therāpadāna*: The *Therāpadāna*[731] gives an account of the giorious deeds of 550 *theras* and it begins with the story of Sāriputta who was the Buddha's chief disciple. After the story of Sāriputta, it deals with other prominent monks who were Mahā-Moggallāna, Mahā-Kassapa, Anuruddha, Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta, Upāli, *Aññaboṇṇdañña*, Piṇṇdela-Bhāradvāja, Khadiravaniya, Revata, Ānanda, Nanda, ilindavaccha, Rāhula, Raṭṭhapāla, Sumaṅgala, Sabhūti, Uttiya, Mahā-Kaccāna, *Cuṇda*, Sela, Bakkula and others.[732] Every story refers to some meritorious deed performed by the *thera* concerned, during the time of a former Buddha and then the pleasures received during his subsequent existences in accordance with that Buddha's prophecy, and, at the end, an *arahant* obtained the perfection.[733]

(4) The *Theri-apadāna*: The *Theri-apadāna*[734] deals with biographies of forty renowned nuns or therīs. It is divided into four *Vaggas* or groups and each vagga has ten stories of the nuns. Thus the *Theri-apadāna*[735] gives accounts of Mahāpajāpati-Gotami, Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭacārā, Bhaddākuṇḍalakesā or Kuṇḍalakesī, Kisā-Gotamī, Nandā, Janapada Kalyāṇī, Dhammadinnā, Yasodharā, Rupanandā, Bhaddākāpilānī, Abhirūpanandā, Ambapālī, Sela and others. Like the biographies of monks, the *theri-abadāna* also tries to follow the same pattern.[736]

The *Apadāna* is mentioned as one of the latest books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and ofthe canon.[737] B.C. Law remarks738 that Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his *Sumṁgalavilāsinī* said that the *Dīghabhānaka* list of the Pāli canonical texts omitted the *Buddhavaṁsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Apadāna* and the *Khuddakapāṭha*, but the *Majjhimabhānaka* list mentions the first three of them. It refers to *Apdāna* as the thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. B.C. Law[739] says, "the preclusion may be explained either as due to sectarian difference of opinion or due to the fact that when the Dīghabhānaka list was drawn up, these four texts were non-existent". H.R. Perera gives an account of it.

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He states,[740] "This would lead to the inference that at the time the *Dīghabhānaka* list was completed the *Apadāna* was not considered as a text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, and probably also of the canon. Moreover, the references in the *Appadāna* to numerous Buddhas presupposes the legend of twenty-four previous Buddhas which is only a later development of the older lagend of six Buddhas contained in other parts of the canon such as the Dīgha Nikāya. B.C. Law also says that one of the *Apadānas* seems to allude to the *Kathāvatthu* as an *Abhidhamma* composition and Rhys Davids argues that if it is so, the *Apadāna* must be one of the very latest books of canon".

The *Apadāna* tries to preach the higher doctrine in Buddhism. Its stories give an account of the merits performed by the good people. The erection of a *cetiya*, cleaning round a cetiya, white-washing a *cetiya*, sweeping the compound of a cetiya or a *bodhi*-tree are mentioned as good deeds and one can earn merit from them.[741] The main aim of the *Apadāna* is to emphasise the charitable and humanitarian aspects of Buddhist life.[742] H.R. Perera[743] describes, "The *Apadāna* is as copious a composition as the *Jātaka*, though of less literary value. Its narratives bear much in common with those of the *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, and the *Vimānavatthu* in their contents and also in their style. Some narratives of the *Apadāna* give more details of the personages described in the *Thera, Therī-gāthā*, e.g., Kisāgotami, and Patācārā".

(XIV) The *Buddhavaṁsa*[744]

The *Buddhavaṁsa* is the fourteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the Pāli *Sutta Piṭaka*. It refers to in verse the peotical legends of the twenty-four Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha during the last twelve world-cycles (or *kalpas*). Richard Morris says,[745] "The *Buddhavaṁsa* may be a mere poetical expansion of some short prose history of the Buddhas who appeared before Gotama's time". After an introductory chapter which is known as the *Gem Caṅkama* section (*Ratana-Caṅkama-Kāṇḍa*), one chapter is dedicated to each of the twenty-four former Buddhas.[746] "In a somewhat dry-manner, it is related in the case of each Buddhas, how he set the Wheel of Law (*dhammacakka*) in motion and how the principal events recorded in the life of Gotama Buddha were enacted in the life of each one

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of the former Buddha. It is Gotama Buddha himself who gives the narrative. Speaking in the first person, he recounts, how he himself was under each of the preceding Buddhas, how he worshipped such Buddha and how his own Buddhahood had been foretold by the Buddha of that time. The only part which is somewhat more imaginative and poetical is the second chapter which deals with *Dipaṅkara*, the first Buddha of the series, briefly summarising in twenty-five verses the chief events of his last existence on earth."[747] The *Buddhavaṁsa* has twenty-six chapters. It describes how all Buddhas set the "Wheel of the Religion" in motion. The last chapter gives us a list of the Buddha up to Metteya, the future Buddha and it also mentions the distribution of the Buddha's relics.[748]

The Buddhavamsa has three broad sections (*nidāna*), The life-history of the Buddha which extends from the age in which the sacred assurance was given to the Great Being (Bodhisattva) at the foot of Dīpaṅkara Buddha up to the time he was reborn in the *Tusita-devaloka* or the *Tusita* heaven is called the dure *nidāva* or the history of remote antiguity or thes section of "remote history".[749] The history of events which extends from the *Tusita* heaven up to the Sttainment of enlightenment at the foot of the *Bodhi*-tree is called *Avidure-nidāna*.[750] And lastly, the history from the attainment of Enlightenment to the *Parinibbāna* is called the *santike Nidāna* or the contemporaneous history.[751] It may be noted here that the *Dighabhānakas* did not include the *Buddhavaṁsa* in their list as a text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* but the *Majjhimabhānakas* mentioned it in their list.[752]

The commentator of the *Buddhavaṁsa* states that Gautama Buddha himself, at the request of Sāriputta recited the *Buddhavaṁsa* after the Buddha himself showed the miracle of the *Rattana-caṅkama*, at the *Nigrodha Vihāra* at Kapilavastu (Kapilavatthu).[753] He rescued his twenty-two thousand kinsmen and innumerable koṭis of men and gods from the four powerful streams of the passion or oghas.[754] the supreme Buddha took the life of pilgrim during the first twenty years of his Buddhahood and stayed at different places.[755] He passed his twentieth year at Rājagriha (Rājagaha) and from that period he lived either at the Jetavana mahāvihāra or at Pubbārāma and he daily used to go out for alms.[756] The Buddha then from Rājagriha came to Kapilavastu (Kapilavetthu) with twenty thousand *Arahats*.[757] Here two

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miracles of two oppesite results were performed by him and on this occsion he preached the *Buddhavaṁsa*.[758] "It had been perpetuated till the third convocation by the unbroken succcession of the theras, and subsequently by their disciples up to the present day".[759]

The *Buddhavaṁsa* describes the twenty-four Buddhas. They were Dīpaṅkara, koṇḍañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassī, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassi, Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa.[760] Here is given an account of the Buddhas.

(1) The first Buddha[761] was Dīpaṅkara. In his time Sumedha took his birth in a rich *brāhmaṇa* family in Amarāvatī, "He was destined to be a Buddha". He understood that the birth was sorrow and for this reason he gave up his wealth and went to Himavanta to lead a retired life. The people of Paccantadesavisaya requested the *Tathāgata* to come to their country and for this reason they were sweeping the road. Sumedha also took part to clear a part of the road. But before he was able to finish it, Dīpaṅkara with some monks visited this place. Sumedha did not want the Buddha to go through the mud. The Buddha with his followers took a walk on the body of Sumedha and were able to cross the muddy place. Dīpaṅkara was very happy with the act performed by Sumedha and he told that Sumedha in future would be a Buddha. Dīpaṅkara's Parents were Sumedha and Sumedhā and he came from a *khattiya* family of Rammavatī. His wife was Padumā and his son was Usabhakknanda. After leaving the world he obtained perfect enlightenment and at the request of Brahmā he propagated the Dhamma for the welfare of the world.

(2) The second Buddha was Koṇḍañña.[762] He belonged to a khattiya family and he came from the city of Rammavatī. Sunanda was his father and Sujātā was his mother. Rucīdevī was his wife and Vijitasena was his son.

(3) The third Buddha was Maṅgala.[763] He belonged to the city of Uttara. His parents were Uttara and Uttarā. His wife was Yasavatī and his son Sīvala.

(4) The fourth Buddha was Sumana.[764] He belonged to the city of Mekhala. Sudatta was his father and Sirimā was his mother. Vatansikā was his wife and Anupama was his son.

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(5) The fifth Buddha was Revata.[765] He belonged to the city of Sudhaṇṇaka. Vipula was his father and Vipulā was his mother. Sudassanā was his wife and Varuna was his son.

(6) The sixth Buddha was Sobhita.[766] He belonged to the city of Sudhamma. His father was Sudhamma and Sudhammā was his mother. He enjoyed the worldly life for about nine thousand years. Sumaṅgī was his wife and his son was Sīha

(7) The seventh Buddha was Anomadassi.[767] He belonged to the city of Candavatī. Yasava was his father and Yasodharā was his mother. Sirimā was his wife and his son was Upavāna.

(8) The eighth Buddha was Paduma.[768] He belonged to the city of Campaka. Asama was his father and Asamā was his mother. His wife was Uttarā and his son was Ramma.

(9) The ninth Buddha was Nārada.[769] He belonged to the city of Dhaññavati. His father was Sudeva and his mother was Anomā. His wife was Jitasona and his son was Nanduttaro.

(10) The tenth Buddha was Padumuttara.[770] He belonged to the city of Haṃsāvatī. His father was Ānanda and his mother was Sujātā. Vasudattā was his wife and Uttara was his son.

(11) The eleventh Buddha was Sumedha.[771] He belonged to the city of Sudassana. Sudatta was his father and Sudattā was his mother. His wife was Sumanā and his son was Sumitta.

(12) The twelfth Buddha was Sujātā[772] He belonged to the city of Sudassana. Suddata was his father and Pabhāvatī was his mother. His wife was Sumanā and his son was Sumitta.

(13) The thirteenth Buddha was Piyadassi.[773] He belonged to the city of Sudhaṇṇa. Sudatta was his father and Sucandā was his mother. Vimalā was his wife and his son was Kañcanavela.

(14) The fourteenth Buddha was Atthadassi.[774] He belonged to the city of Sobhana. His father was Sāgara and his mother was Sudassanā. Visākhā was his wife and his son was Sena.

(15) The fifteenth Buddha was Dhammadassi.[775] He belonged to the city of Sasraṇas was his father and Sunandā was his mother. His wife was Vicilōlī and his son was Puṇṇavaddhana.

(16) The sixteenth Buddha was Siddhattha.[776] He belonged to the city of Vebhāra. Udena was his father and his mother was

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Suphassā. His wife was Sumanā and his son was Anupama.

(17) The seventeenth Buddha was Tissa.[777] He belonged to the city of Khemake. His father was Janasandha and his mother was Padumā. His wife was Subhaddā and his son was Ānanda.

(18) The eighteenth Buddha was Phussa.[778] He belonged to the city of Kāsika. Jayasena was his father and his mother was Sirimā. Kisāgotamī was his wife and Ānanda was his son.

(19) The nineteenth Buddha was Vipassi.[779] He belonged to the city of Bandhumati. Bandhuma was his father and his mother was Bandhumati. Sutanā was his wife and Samvaṭṭakkhanda was his son.

(20) The twentieth Buddha was Sikhi.[780] He belonged to the city of Aruṇavatī. His father was Aruṇa and his mother was Pabhāvatī. His wife was Sabbakāmā and his son was Atula.

(21) The twenty-first Buddha was Vessabhu.[781] He belonged to the city of Anoma. His father was Supatita and his mother was Yasavatī. His wife was Sucitta and his son was Suppabuddha.

(22) The twenty-second Buddha was Kakusandha.[782] He belonged to the city of Khemavatī. His father was Aggidatta and his mother was Visākhā. Virocamana was his wife and Uttara was his son.

(23) The twenty-third Buddha was Koṇāgamana.[783] He belonged to the city of Sobhavati. His father was Yaññadatta and his mother was Uttarā. His wife was Rucigattā and his son was Satthevāha.

(24) The twenty-fourth Buddha was Kassapa.[784] He belonged to the city of Benares. His father was Brahmadatta and his mother was Dhanavatī. Sunanda was his wife and his son was Vijitasena.

(25) The twenty-fifth Buddha was Gotama Buddha.[785] He belonged to the city of Kapilavatthu. Suddhodana was his father and Māyā was his mother. His wife was Bhaddakaccā and his son was Rāhula.

(XV) The *Cariyāpiṭaka*[786]

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is the fifteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It belongs to the post-Aśokan period.[787] The meaning of the word cariyā is conduct and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* means, a canonical

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collection of stories which refers to the incidents in which the Bodhisattva practised the *cariyā* or conduct.[788] It is a collection of thirty-five *Jātakas* in verse which informs the Bodhisattva's attainment of ten perfections (*dasa pāramiyas*) in his previous births.[789] The verses are written in the *anuṣṭubh* (*anuṭṭhuva*) metre. The language is very simple and the style used in it is similar to that of the *Dhammapada*.[790] It is to be noted here that the stories given in the verses of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* are parallel to the stories mentioned in the *Jātaka* in prose. Richard Morris remarks, "These birth-stories presuppose a familiar acquaintance with all the incidents of the corrasponding prose tales".[791]

The *Cariyapiṭaka* is divided into three parts. The first part deals with ten stories of Akatti, Saṅkha, Dhanañjaya, Mahā-Sudassana, Mahāgovinda, Nimirārja, Candakumāra, Sivirāja, Vessantara and Sasapaṇḍita.[792] It refers to the perfection of generosity (*dānapāramī*) in ten stories. The second part mentions the perfection of virtue (*sīlapāramī*) in ten stories of Sīlava-nāga, Bhūridatta, Campeyyanāga, Cūlabodhi, Mahiṁsa-rāja. Rurumigarāja, Mātaṅga Dhammādhammadevaputta, Jayadissa and Saṅkhapāla.[793] The third part contains fifteen stories.[794] It given an account of the perfection of renunciation (*nekkhamma pāramī*) in the stories of Yudhañjaya, Somanassa, Ayoghara, Bhisa and Sonapaṇḍita.[795] The stories of Temiya or Teniya[796] illustrate the perfection of resolution (*adhitthānapāramī*). The stories of Kapirāja, Saccasahavapaṇḍita or Saccasahayapaṇḍita, Vaṭṭapotaka, Maccharāja, Kaṇhadīpāyana and Sutasoma describe the perfection of truthfulness (*saccapāramī*).[797] The stories of Suvaṇṇasāma and Ekarāja discuss the perfection of kindness (mettā-pāranī) to all beings.[798] The story of Mahālomahaṁsa speaks of the perfection of equanimity (*upekkhā-pāramī*).[799] From this we learn that the *Cariyāpiṭaka* discusses the seven *pāramitās* only and there is no reference to three *pāramitās* — wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*viriya*) and patience (*khānti*) in it.[800] The Buddha himself told these stories. He recos, "the event in brief, scanty words, sometimes only hinting so slightly that a knowledge of the story is evidently already assumed, in fact, to a certain extent, the intention is merely to recall it".[801] Although most of the stories are found in the *Jātaka* yet the aim of this work is to glorify some perfections.

Here is given a summary of the *Cariyāpiṭaka:*

(1) Once Akatti[802] was busy with his meditation in a forest.

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While he was doing some work in order to earn merit, Inda, the lord of the gods, at that time in disguise of a *brāhmaṇa* visited that place, in order to test him. Akatti in order to obtain enlightenment gave him in charity the leaves which were heaped up just in front of his leaf-hut to the *brāhmaṇa*.

(2) Saṅkha[803] visited the sea-shore and on the way he found a Sayambhu (Buddha) who was treading the road which was very hot and by the rays of the sun the sands of the road also became very hot. Saṅkha paid his respect to him and in order to obtain enlightenment, a pair of wooden slippers and an umbrella were distributed by him in charity.

(3) Several *brāhmaṇas* from Kaliṅga visited Indapatta and met its king who was Dhamañjaya.[804] Because at that time the country was in trouble due to drought and famine and they wanted a royal elephant from the king. They told the king that the presence of this elephant will bring copious rain. Dhanañjaya, the king, in order to obtain enlightment gave them the elephant in charity.

(4) Sudassana:[805] who was known as the king of Kusāvatī, thrice announced that he would do his best to satisfy the desire of everybody when they would come to inform him about it. Then not only hungry and thirsty people but also some people who wanted garlands, scents, clothes, wooden-slippers etc. came to him and the king satisfied their desires. In many places of his kingdom he arranged for charities for the attainment of *bodhi*.

(5) Govinda,[806] who was a chaplain of seven kings, gave his income from the seven kingdoms in charity for the attainment of *bodhi*.

(6) Nimi,[807] who was the king of Mithilā, constructed four *danasalas* or alms houses. Here he used to give drink, food, seats, garments etc. and in order to obtain enlightenment he gave charities to beasts, birds and human beings.

(7) Canda-Kumāra,[808] who was the son of Ekarāja of Pupphavatī, gave charities and he first used to offer food to a beggar and only then he ate. He never ate anything without first offering food to a beggar.

(8) Sivi[809] was known as a ruler of Ariṭṭha. He wanted to give such type of charities which no man had given before. He told his

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people that he would be happy to give his eyes in charity if anyone would want them. Then one day in order to test him, Inda in the guise of an old blind *brāhmaṇa* came to him to ask for one of his eyes and Sivi gladly gave it to him. He also gave his other eye when the *Brāhmaṇa* asked for it. He gave his two eyes in charity in order to obtain *bodhi*.

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(9) Sañjaya and Phussatī were the king and queen of Jetuttara. Vessantara[810] was their son. When his age was eight, he wanted to give his eyes, ears, heart, flesh, blood, etc. to anyone, who asked for them. One day in order to give charity he came to the alms house with his elephant named Paccaya, which was the royal elephant. The presence of this elephant would help to bring good days from bad days, rain from drought and good harvest from famine. At that time there was a famine at Kaliṅga and the king of Kaliṅga in order to obtain the royal elephant sent some *brāhmaṇas* to Vessantara. The latter gladly gave the elephant to them. But when the people of the kingdom of Sivi came to know of it, they became furious and they banished him to the Vaṅkapabbata from the kingdom of Sivi. Vessantara then asked permission from the people of the kingdom of Sivi to allow him to give a charity before his departure from Jetuttara. When they allowed him to do it, he then gave in charity his elephants, horses, chariots, slaves, slave-girls, cows and other things. He then left Jetuttara and came to Vaṅkapabbata with his wife Maddī, son Jāli and daughter Kaṇhā. One day in the absence of Maddī he gave his son and daughter to a cruel *brāhmaṇa*. One day Inda came in disguise of a *brāhmaṇa* and told Vessantara to give him Maddī. Vessantara without any hesitation gave Maddī to the brāhmaṇa. Vessantara gave his wife, son and daughter in charity in order to obtain *bodhi*. One day Vessantara's father visited the Vaṅkapabbata and took Vessantara to his kingdom. Vessantara was a pious man. When he arrived in the kingdom it became very prosperous.

(10) Once the *Bodhisattva* Siddhārtha[811] took his birth as a hare. He with his three friends dwelt in a forest. He always used to give advice to his friends to give charity, to practise precepts and to perform other pious acts. One day Inda in disguise of a *brāhmaṇa* first met him and told him to give him something to eat. But he had nothing to give him. He then told the *brāhmaṇa* to kindle a fire and the hare then jumped into the fire so that the *brāhmaṇa* would be able to get the cokked flesh. But owing to his

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virtue the fire became very cold like ice.

(11) Sīlava-nāga[812] lived in a forest and he was very much fond of his old mother and he was always strived for his mother's comforts. Several persons used to go very often to the forest and they told the king about the elephant in the forest which was worthy for king's *maṅgalahatthī*. The king then sent a skilful elephant-driver and he caught the elephant which neither gave any sign of anger nor expressed any grief for his mother. The elephant's behaviour was very quiet and gentle because of the fulfilment of *sīlapāramī*.

(12) Once the *Bodhisattava* took his birth as a snake-king. He was known as Bhūridatta.[813] King Virupakkha took him to *devaloka*. When he saw the beauty and wealth of the *devaloka* he then determined to obtain virtues which would help his to go to heaven. He then used to take little food and tried his best to observe precepts. In order to observe precepts he lay down on an ant-hill. He endured lots of trouble from a person who took him to several places but in order to observe precepts he did not utter a single word and kept quiet.

(13) Once the *Bodhisattva* took his birth as a snake-king. He became known as Campeyya.[814] A snake-charmer caught him while he obsrved the precepts on an *Uposatha* day. He had a miraculous power and for this reason he performed many miracles. The snake-charmer took him to the place where he forced him to dance. In order to fulfil *sīlapāramī* he neither uttered a single word nor he protested. He did what he asked him to do.

(14) The *Bodhisattva*, who was born as Cūlabodhi,[815] became happy in renunciation. He found fear in the world and then abandoned his worldly life and also left his wife and took the life of a recluse. He used to alive in the king's garden at Benares and was not attached to anything. His wife also came to the garden and did her meditation there. When he was asked by the king about his beautiful wife, the former said to him that she was not his wife but she followed the same *Dhamma*. Then the woman was taken away forcibly by the king but, even then, Cūlabodhi for the attainment of *sīlapāramī* did not show his anger, and he was calm and quiet.

(15) The *Bodhisattva*,[816] who was born as a king of the buffaloes, used to live in a forest. He was stout and strong and

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bulky and he was horrible to look at. He used to live in a nice place in the forest. One day a monkey appeared there and gave him much trouble. A *Yakkha* told him to kill the monkey but he did not like his word and did not take any interest in his word. Because he observed the precepts and there was a chance of its disturbance.

(16) Ruru[817] was a deer and he used to live near the banks of the Ganges. A person was oppressed by his master and he was so fed up with his life that he jumped from the spot and he was carried by the current of the water of the Ganges and he came to the deer who brought him to his abode. The deer told him not to tell anybody about the place where he was dwelling. He promised him and then left the place but he returned soon with the king. The king heard everything from the deer and the former became very angry and wanted to kill the person. Because he did not keep his promise and his behaviour was very bad and he was a treacherous person. Instead of it, the deer tried to save the person but the deer was killed by the arrow of the king.

(17) Mātaṅga[818] was a *Jaṭila*. He was mentioned as a pious hermit. He lived on the banks of the Ganges with a brāhmaṇa. The latter was very jealous of him and told the *Jaṭila* that his head would he broken. But the hermit had no fault and he was very pure in mind and in thoughts. So the curse had no bad effects upon the hermit but the curse had a chance to fall upon the *brāhmaṇa*. The hermit in order to save the *brāhmaṇa* sacrificed his life.

(18) Dhamma[819] was a *Yakkha*. He had miraculous powers and he showed his compassion towards all. He was always busy in doing ten virtuous deeds and he advised other people to perform these virtuous acts. Adhamma was another *Yakkha*. He always used to move from place to place and told people to commit ten types of sins. One day both of them had a meeting on the way. In order to fulfil the *sīlapārami* Dhamma avoided quarrel with him and allowed him to go.

(19) Jayaddisa[820] was a king of the city of Kappila which was situated in the kingdom of Pañcāla. Sutadhamma was his son. He was a virtuous person. He used to protect his own retinue. Once King Jayaddisa went out for hunting and a demon caught him. But the king told him to take the deer and to save his life for the time

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being. The king told further that after doing necessary arrangements in the kingdom he would return to him soon. When Sutadhamma knew it he without arms came to the demon. He told the demon to kindle a fire so that he would go into it and then his body would be cooked and propared for food. In order to fulfil sīla he sacrificed his life.

(20) There was a snake-king whose name was Saṅkhapāla.[821] He was very poisonous and he had miraculous powers. He used to sit at the crossing of the four streets and he used to offer himself in charity to any beggar. The sons of the Bhojas were quite well-known for their rough, harsh and cruel behaviour and one day they drew him with a rope which was pushed through his nose. But in order to observe precepts he did not show his anger.

(21) Once the *Bodhisattva*-Siddhārtha[822] was a prince to the kingdom of Kuru. At that time his name was Yudhañjaya. Once he saw dew drops were dried up by the rays of the sun. On seeing it he was fed up with the worldly life. Then he paid his respect to his parents and he renounced the world. In order to obtain enlightenment (*bodhi*) he neither showed his love for the kingdom nor he took any interest in the prayers of the king and his subjects.

(22) The Bodhisattva was born as a prince of the city of Indapatta.[823] His name was Somanassa. There was a hermit in the city of Indapatta. His name was Kuhakatāpasa. He was patronised by the king. The latter built a beautiful garden for him. One day Somanassa told Kuhaka, "you are worthless, you have not the qualities of an honest man in you and you have fallen off from the state of a samaṇa. You have abandoned all good qualities, such as shame etc." Kuhaka became furious and asked the king to throw him out of the kingdom. He was caught by some cruel persons and they brought him before the king. He was successful to do something in order to appease the wrath of the king and the king became happy with him and offered him the kingdom. But in order to obtain enlightenment he renounced the world.

(23) The *Bodhisattva* was born as the son of the king of Kāsī[824] He was known as Ayoghara because his father brought him up in an iron house. His father offered him the kingdom but he refused to accept it. In order to obtain *bodhi*, he left the worldly life.

(24) The *Bodhisattva* was born in a *kshatriya* family.[825] He had seven brothers and sisters. His parents, brothers, sisters used to tell him to marry and to anjoy worldly life. But he did not care for

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it. In order to obtain *bodhi* he abandoned the worldly life.

(25) The *Bodhisattva* was born in a rich family in the city of Brahmavaḍḍhana.[826] His parents and relatives always told him to enjoy worldly pleasures. But he did not show any interest in them and for the attainment of *bodhi* he left the worldly life.

(26) For the attainment of *bodhi* the *Bodhisattva*[827] fulfilled the ten *pāramitās* or perfections and for this reason he had to take several births for the fulfilment of each *pāramitā* He by his endeavour fulfilled the *adhitthāna pāraṁitā* to become a Buddha like a mountain which was unmoved by storm blowing from all directions. He took his birth in the royal family of Kāsi. Here he was born as the son of the king of Kāsi. He was brought up like a prince. In order to do what he wanted, he then with the help of the guardian deity became deaf, dumb and motionless. He was not quite fit for any work. On seeing his condition, the commander, the chaplain, and his people left him. The charioteer in order to bury him alive took him out of the city and dug a pit. But the *Bodhisattva* neither said anything nor gave up his steadfast resolve.

(27) The *Bodhisattva*,[828] who was born as a monkey-king, used to live in a cave on the banks of a river. Here a crocodile in order to catch hold of him asked him to come to him. Then Vānarinda told him "you open your mouth, I am coming". But the monkey-king took a jump over his head and come to the other side of the river. He played this role for the sake of truth.

(28) The *Bodhisattva* was born as Saccashaya.[829] He was a hermit. He told the people to speak the truth. He, with the help of truth effected the unity of the people.

(29) The *Bodhisattva*[830] was born as a young quail. One day his parents went for food after leaving him in the nest. At this time a fire started in the forest. He was unable to fly because his wings were not yet developed. He told the fire to extinguish itself because he was not able to move and his parents went away for food. In the previous births he obtained much merit and owing to the influence of this truth the fire became extinguished.

(30) The *Bodhisattva*[831] took his birth as a fish-king in a big pond. Crows, vultures, cranes etc. used to trouble his relatives. He then wanted to save his relatives by truth. He did not kill any being. He wanted rain and prayed for it by this truth. Because of his prayer there was a heavy rain and everything was flooded.

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Owing to flood, fishes came out from the ponds and nests of birds were destroyed completely.

(31) The *Bodhisattva* was born as a sage. He was known as Kaṇha-dīpāyana[832] He was free from any attachment. Maṇḍavya was a brahmacārī. One day he came to his hermitage with his wife and son. His son irritated a snake and it bit him. Kaṇhadīpāyana saved his son and his parents became happy.

(32) The *Bodhisattva*[833] was born as a king. His name was Sutasoma. A demon once attacked him. The former told the king that "if he could free him, then one hundred *kṣatriyas* who were seized and brought for the sacrifice would be sent to him". The king then came again to the demon. The king saved his life for the sake of truth.

(33) Once the *Bodhisattva* used to live in a forest. His name was Sāma.[834] He did his meditation on mettā. Inda in order to test him sent to him a lion and a tiger. But those ferocious animals were unable to frighten him. They surrounded him, but, even then, he was not frightened. He did his meditation on *mettā* or friendliness.

(34) The *Bodhieattva* was born as Ekarāja.[835] He was a famous king. He observed precepts and told his subjects to do so. He performed ten good deeds and told his subjects to do so. He offered four requisites to a great multitude. Once King Dabbasena attacked his capital and took away wealth of his kingdom. Ekarāja always wished *mettā* (friendliness) on the enemy but his enemy in his presence killed his minsters, subjects and captured his wife and son.

(35) The *Bodhisattva* was born as Mahālomahaṁsa.[836] In the cemetery he used to take his sleep on a bed which was made of the bones of the dead. Villagers offered him food and garlands. He did not take interest in people who troubled him and who pleased him. He was totally indifferent to them. He was able to keep the balance of mind in prosperity or in adversity.

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385. *Ibid.*, I, p. 143; *Ibid.*, II. pp. 54-74.
386. *Ibid.*, I, p. 144; *Ibid.*, II. pp. 74-83.
387. *Ibid.*, I, p. 144; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 83-90.
388. *Ibid.*, I, p. 144; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 91-97.
389. *Ibid.*, I, p. 144; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 97-105.
390. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 106-12.
391. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 112-17.
392. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 118-25.
393. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 125-33.
394. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 133-46.
395. *Ibid.*, I, p. 145; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 146.
396. *Ibid.*, I, p. 146; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 147-57
397. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, p. 157-63.
398. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 164-77.
399. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 177-84.
400. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, 184-96.
401. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, p. 196.
402. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 196-209.
403. *Ibid.*, I, p. 147-48; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 209-13.
404. *Ibid.*, I, p. 148; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 214-28.
405. *Ibid.*, I, p. 148; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 228-38.
406. *Ibid.*, I, p. 148; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 238-43.
407. *Ibid.*, I, p. 148; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 243-51.
408. *Ibid.*,I, p.149; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 252-61.
409. *Ibid.*, I, p. 149; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 261-66.
410. *Ibid.*, I, p. 149; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1-7.
411. *Ibid.*, I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 7-15.

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412. *Ibid.*, I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 15-20.
413. *Ibid.*, I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 20-24.
414. *Ibid.*, I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 25-29.
415. *Ibid.*, I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 29-37.
416. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 37-45.
417. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 45-61.
418. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 61-67.
419. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 68-71.
420. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 71-78.
421. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 79-88.
422. *Ibid.*, I, p. 151; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 88-99.
423. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 99-103.
424. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 104-09.
425. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 109-18.
426. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 118-24.
427. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 124-28.
428. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 128-37.
429. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 138-44.
430. *Ibid.*, I, p. 152; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 144-52.
431. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 152-62.
432. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 163-78.
433. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 178-81.
434. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 187-89.
435. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 189-91.
436. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 192-99.
437. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 199-202.
438. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 202-06.
439. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 207-15.
440. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 215-22.
441. *Ibid.*, I, p. 154; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 223-29.
442. *Ibid.*, I, p. 154; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 230-37.
443. *Ibid.*, I, p. 154; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 237-47.
444. *Ibid.*, I, p. 154; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 248-52.
445. *Ibid.*, I, p. 155; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 253-57.
446. *Ibid.*, I, p. 155; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 258-63.
447. *Ibid.*, I, p. 155; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 263-66.
448. *Ibid.*, I, p. 155; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 267-70.
449. *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 270-77.
450. *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 277-80.
451. *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 280-87.
452. *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 287-90.

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453. *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 290-93.
454. *Ibid.*, I, p. 157; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 293-97.
455. *Ibid.*, I, p. 157; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 298-302.
456. HPL, I, p. 157.
457. *Ibid.*, I, p. 159.
458. *Ibid.*
459. *Ibid.*, I, p. 159-60.
460. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 160-62; *SN*, part I, pp. 1-45.
461. *Ibid.*, I, p. 162; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 46-47.
462. *Ibid.*, I, p. 162; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 68-102.
463. *Ibid.*, I, p. 163; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 103-27.
464. *Ibid.*, I, p. 163; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 120-36.
465. *Ibid.*, I, p. 163; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 136-59.
466. *Ibid*, I, p. 163; *Ibid*, I, pp. 160-84.
467. *Ibid.*, I, p. 164; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 185-96.
468. *Ibid.*, I, p. 164; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 197-205.
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470. *Ibid.*, I, p. 168; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 216-40.
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472. *Ibid.*, I, p. 169; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 133-39.
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476. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 225-44.
477. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 244-53.
478. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 254-62.
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480. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 273-86.
481. *Ibid.*, I, p. 171; *Ibid.*, II, p.pt. II, pp. 1-188.
482. *Ibid.*, I, p. 172; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 188-201.
483. *Ibid.*, I, p. 172; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 202-24.
484. *Ibid.*, I, p. 172; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 225-28.
485. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 228-31.
486. *Ibid.*, I, p. 273; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 232-34.
487. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 235-40.
488. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 240-46.
489. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 246-49.
490. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 249-53.
491. *Ibid.*, I, p. 174; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 254-57.
492. *Ibid.*, I, p. 174; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 257-63.
493. *Ibid.*, I, p. 174; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 263-79.

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494. *Ibid.*, I, p. 174; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-204.
495. *Ibid.*, I, p. 175; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 204-38.
496. *Ibid.*, I, p. 175; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 238-51.
497. *Ibid.*, I, p. 176; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 251-61.
498. *Ibid.*, I, p. 176; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 261-62.
499. *Ibid.*, I, p. 176; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 262-81.
500. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 281-304.
501. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 305-59.
502. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 359-73.
503. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 374-403.
504. *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 1-62.
505. *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 63-140.
506. *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 141-92.
507. *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 193-243.
508. *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 244-48.
509. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 249-53.
510. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 254-93.
511. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 294-306.
512. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 307-10.
513. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 311-41.
514. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 342-423.
515. *Ibid.*, I, p. 179; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 424-78.
516. *Ibid.*, I, p. 180.
517. *Ibid.*
518. EB, Fascicle: *Acala-Aka heyya Sutta*, pp. 629 ff.
519. *HPL*, I, p. 180.
520. *Ibid.*, I, p. 180; *EB.*, Fascicle: *Acala-Akankheyya*, p. 631; *AN*, I, pp. 1-46.
521. *Ibid.*, I, p. 181; *Ibid.*, p. 631; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 47-100.
522. *Ibid.*, I, p. 181; *Ibid.*, p. 181; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 101-304.
523. *Ibid.*, I, p. 182; *Ibid.*, p. 632; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 1-257.
524. *Ibid.*, I, p. 186; *Ibid.*, p. 635; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1-278.
525. *Ibid.*, I, p. 187; *Ibid.*, p. 638; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 279-452.
526. *Ibid.*, I, p. 188; *Ibid.*, p. 640; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-149.
527. *Ibid.*, I, p. 188; *Ibid.*, p. 644; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 150-350.
528. *Ibid.*, I, p. 188; *Ibid.*, p. 647; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 351-466.
529. *Ibid.*, I, p. 189; *Ibid.*, P. 649; *Ibid.*, V, p. 1-310.
530. *Ibid.*, I, p. 190; *Ibid.*, p. 654; *Ibid.*, V, pp. 311-361.
531. *HPL*, I, p. 193.
532. *Ibid.*
533. *Ibid.*, I, p. 194.
534. *Ibid.*, I, p. 195.

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535. *Ibid.*
536. *Ibid.*, I, p. 196; *KDP*, PTS., pp. 2-3.
537. *Ibid.*, I, p. 196; *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.
538. *Ibid.*, I, p. 197; *Ibid.*, p. 6.
539. *Ibid.*, I, p. 197; *Ibid.*, p. 7.
540. *Ibid.*, I, p. 198; *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
541. *Ibid.*, I, p. 200.
542. *Ibid.*, I, p. 200; *UP*, PTS, pp. 1-3; *DHP*, pp. 2-7; *EMLB*, pp. 1-7.
543. *Ibid.*, I, p. 201; *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10; *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.
544. *Ibid.*, I, p. 201; *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6; *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13; *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.
545. *Ibid.*, I, p. 201; *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9; *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17; *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20
546. *Ibid.*, I, p. 202; *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11; *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.
547. *Ibid.*, I, p. 202; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23; *Ibid.*, pp. 26-30.
548. *Ibid.*, I, p. 202; *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15; *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26; *Ibid*, pp. 31-33.
549. *Ibid.*, I, p. 203; *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17; *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29; *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37.
550. *Ibid.*, I, p. 203; *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19; *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32; *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.
551. *Ibid.*, I, p. 204; *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21; *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35; *Ibid.*, pp. 42-46.
552. *Ibid.*, I, p. 204; *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23; *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38; *Ibid.*, pp. 47-50.
553. *Ibid.*, I, p. 205; *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25; *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40; *Ibid.*, pp. 51-54.
554. *Ibid.*, I, p. 206; *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26; *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43; *Ibid.*, pp. 55-58.
555. *Ibid.*, I, p. 206; *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29; *Ibid.*, pp. 44-47; *Ibid.*, pp.59-62.
556. *Ibid.*, I, p. 207; *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31; *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50; *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.
557. *Ibid.*, I, p. 207; *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33; *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53; *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.
558. *Ibid.*, I, p. 208; *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34; *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56; *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74.
559. *Ibid.*, I, p. 208; *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37; *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61; *Ibid.*, pp 75-80.
560. *Ibid.*, I, p. 209; *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31; *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65; *Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.
561. *Ibid.*, I, p. 210; *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42; *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70; *Ibid.*, pp. 85-89.
562. *Ibid.*, I, p. 210; *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42; *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74; *Ibid.*, pp. 90-94.
563. *Ibid.*, I, p. 211; *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46; *Ibid.*, pp. 75-78; *Ibid.*, pp. 95-98.
564. *Ibid.*, I, p. 212; *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48; *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81; *Ibid.*, pp. 99-103.
565. *Ibid.*, I, p. 112; *Ibid.*, pp. 48-52; *Ibid.*, pp. 82-87; *Ibid.*, pp. 104-13.
566. *Ibid.*, I, p. 213; *Ibid.*, pp. 52-55; *Ibid.*, pp. 88-92; *Ibid.*, pp., 114-20.
567. *Ibid.*, I, p. 213; *Ibid.*, pp. 55-60 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-101; *Ibid.*, pp. 121-32.
568. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 225-26.
569. *Ibid.*, I, p. 227; *Udāna*, PTS, pp. 1-9.
570. *Ibid.*, I, p. 227; *Ibid.*, pp. 10-20.
571. *Ibid.*, I, p. 227; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.
572. *Ibid.*, I, p. 227; *Ibid.*, pp. 34-46.
573. *Ibid.*, I, p. 227; *Ibid.*, pp. 47-61.
574. *Ibid.*, I, p. 228; *Ibid.*, pp. 62-73.
575. *Ibid.*, I, p. 228; *Ibid.*, pp. 74-79.

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576. *Ibid.*, I, p. 228; *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83.
577. *Ibid.*, I, p. 228.
578. *DPPN.*, I, p. 306.
579. *HPL.*, I, p. 230; *IV*, PTS, pp. 1-21.
580. *Ibid.*, I, p. 230; *Ibid.*, pp. 22-44.
581. *Ibid.*, I, p. 231; *Ibid.*, pp. 45-101.
582. *Ibid.*, I, p. 231; *Ibid.*, pp. 102-24.
583. *Ibid.*, I, p. 232.
584. *Ibid.*, I, p. 241; *SNP.* pp. 1-3.
585. *Ibid.*, I, p. 241; *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.
586. *Ibid.*, I, p. 241; *Ibid.*, pp. 6-12.
587. *Ibid.*, I, p. 242; *Ibid.*, 12-16.
588. *Ibid.*, I, p. 242; *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
589. *Ibid.*, I, p. 242; *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
590. *Ibid.*, I, p. 242; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.
591. *Ibid.*, I, p. 243; *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
592. *Ibid.*, I, p. 243; *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.
593. *Ibid.*, I, p. 243; *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.
594. *Ibid.*, I, p. 243; *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
595. *Ibid.*, I, p. 244; *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.
596. *Ibid.*, I, p. 244; *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42.
597. *Ibid.*, I, p. 244; *Ibid.*, pp. 42-45.
598. *Ibid.*, I, p. 245; *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
599. *Ibid.*, I, p. 245; *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
600. *Ibid.*, I, p. 245; *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.
601. *Ibid.*, I, p. 245; *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
602. *Ibid.*, I, p. 246; *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.
603. *Ibid.*, I, p. 246; *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
604. *Ibid.*, I, p. 246; *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
605. *Ibid.*, I, p. 247; *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
606. *Ibid.*, I, p. 247; *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
607. *Ibid.*, I, p. 247; *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.
608. *Ibid.*, I, p. 247; *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.
609. *Ibid.*, I, p. 248; *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.
610. *Ibid.*, I, p. 248; *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.
611. *Ibid.*, I, p. 248; *Ibid.*, pp. 74-78.
612. *Ibid.*, I, p. 249; *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
613. *Ibid.*, I, p. 249; *Ibid.*, pp. 79-86.
614. *Ibid.*, I, p. 249; *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.
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616. *Ibid.*, I, p. 250; *Ibid.*, pp. 102-12.

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618. *Ibid.*, I, p. 250; *Ibid.*, pp. 115-23.
619. *Ibid.*, I, p. 250; *Ibid.*, pp. 123-31.
620. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251; *Ibid.*, pp. 131-39.
621. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251; *Ibid.*, pp. 139-49.
622. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251; *Ibid.*, pp.p 151.
623. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251; *Ibid.*, pp. 151-53.
624. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251; *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.
625. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 154-56.
626. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 156-58.
627. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 158-60.
628. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.
629. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 161-63.
630. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 163-66.
631. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252; *Ibid.*, pp. 166.68.
632. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 168-71.
633. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 171-74.
634. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 174-78.
635. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 179-82.
636. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 182-85.
637. *Ibid.*, I, p. 253; *Ibid.*, pp. 185-89.
638. *Ibid.*, I, p. 254; *Ibid.*, pp. 190-97.
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640. *Ibid.*, I, p. 254; *Ibid.*, p. 199.
641. *Ibid.*, I, p. 255; *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.
642. *Ibid.*, I, p. 255; *Ibid.*, pp. 201-04.
643. *Ibid.*, I, p. 255; *Ibid.*, pp. 204-05.
644. *Ibid.*, I, p. 255; *Ibid.*, pp. 205-07.
645. *Ibid.*, I, p. 255; *Ibid.*, pp. 207-09.
646. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256; *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.
647. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256; *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.
648. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256; *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.
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651. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256; *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15.
652. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256; *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.
653. *Ibid.*, I, p. 257; *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.
654. *Ibid.*, I, p. 257; *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18.
655. *Ibid.*, I, p. 260. *DPPN.*, pp. 892-93.
656. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 892-93.
657. *HPL*, I, p. 261.

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661. *Ibid.*, I, p. 263.
662. *Ibid.*, I, p. 264.
663. *Ibid.*
664. *HIL*, II, p. 100.
665. *Ibid.* f.n.3.
666. *HPL*, I, p. 267; *DPPN*, I, p. 951.
667. *BI*, p. 267.
668. *Ibid.*
669. *Ibid.*
670. *Ibid.*
671. *Ibid.*
672. Ibid., p. 268.
673. *HPL*, I, p. 277; *DPPN*, II, p. 74.
674. *EB*, I, pp. 66-67.
675. *Ibid.*
676. *DPPN*, II, p. 74.
677. *HPL*, I, p. 278.
678. *Ibid.*
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680. *Ibid.*
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682. *Ibid.*, I, p. 279.
683. *Ibid.*
684. *Ibid.*
685. *Ibid.*
686. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 279-80.
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692. *Ibid.*
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694. *Ibid.*
695. *Ibid.*, I, p. 281.
696. *Ibid.*
697. *Ibid.*
698. *Ibid.*, I, p. 281-82.

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699. *EB*, I, p. 67.
700. *Ibid.*
701. *Ibid.*
702. *Ibid.*
703. *Ibid.*, I, p. 67; *HPL*, I, p. 282; *OPPN*, II, p. 116.
704. *DPPN.*, II, p. 116.
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706. *EB*, I, p. 67.
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708. *Ibid.*
709. *Ibid.*
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711. *DPPN*, II, p. 116.
712. *HPL*, I, p. 282.
713. *Ibid.*
714. *Ibid.*, I, p. 282; *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, II, pp. 1-91.
715. *Ibid.*, I, p. 282-83.
716. *Ibid.*, I, p. 283; *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, II, pp. 92-184.
717. *Ibid.*, I, p. 283.
718. *Ibid.*, I, p. 284. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, II, pp. 185-246.
719. *Ibid.*, I, p. 301; *EB*, II, p. 2; *DPL*, p. 47.
720. *Ibid.*, I, p. 302.
721. *Ibid.*
722. *EB*, II, p. 2.
723. *Ibid.*, II, p.2.
724. *Ibid.*
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727. *Ibid.*
728. *Ibid.*
729. *Ibid.*
730. *Ibid.*
731. *Ibid.*
732. *Ibid.*
733. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 2-3.
734. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3.
735. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3; *HPL*, I, p. 302.
736. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3.
737. *Ibid.*
738. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3; *HPL*, I, p. 7.
739. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3; *Ibid.*, I, p. 7.

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740. *Ibid.*, II, p. 3.
741. *Ibid.*
742. *Ibid.*
743. *Ibid.*
744. *Ibid.*, III, p. 465; *HPL*, I, p. 285.
745. *HPL*, I, pp. 285-86.
746. *EB*, III, p. 465.
747. *Ibid.*
748. *Ibid.*
749. *Ibid.*, III, p. 465; *HPL*, I, pp. 286-87.
750. *Ibid.*, III, p. 465; *Ibid.*, I, p. 287.
751. *Ibid.*, III, p. 465; *Ibid.*, I, p. 287.
752. *Ibid.*, III, p. 465.
753. *Ibid.*, III, p.465 *HPL*, I, p. 286.
754. *Ibid.*, I, p. 286.
755. *Ibid.*
756. *Ibid.*
757. *Ibid.*
758. *Ibid.*
759. *Ibid.*
760. *Ibid.*, I, p. 285.
761. *Ibid.*, I, p. 287; *BV*, pp. 6-18.
762. *Ibid.*, I, p. 287; *BV*. pp. 19-21.
763. *Ibid.*, I, p. 287; *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.
764. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.
765. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
766. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
767. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
768. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
769. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
770. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
771. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
772. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.
773. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288; *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
774. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
775. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
776. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.
777. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.
778. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
779. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.
780. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

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781. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
782. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
783. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289; *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
784. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290; *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.
785. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290; *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
786. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290; *EB*, III, p. 674.
787. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290.
788. *Ibid.*
789. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *EB*, III, p. 674.
790. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290; *Ibid.*, p. 674.
791. *Ibid.*, I, p. 290.
792. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *EB*, III, p. 674.
793. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *Ibid.*, p. 674.
794. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *Ibid.*, p. 674.
795. *Ibid.*, III, p. 674.
796. *Ibid.*
797. *Ibid.*
798. *Ibid.*
800. *Ibid.*
801. *Ibid.*
802. *HPL*, I, p. 291; *CP*, p. 731; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 236-42.- *Akitti Jātaka.*
803. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *Ibid.*, p. 74; *Sahalapāta Jātaka, Jātaka* V, pp. 161-77.
804. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75; *Kurudhamma Jātaka, Jātaka* II, pp. 365-81.
805. *Ibid.*, I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, pp. 75; *Mahāsudassana Jātaka, Jātaka* I, pp. 391-93.
806. *Ibid.*, I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, p. 76.
807. *Ibid.*, I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, p. 76; *Nimi Jātaka, Jātaka* VI, pp. 95-129.
808. *Ibid.*, I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, p. 77; *Khandapāla Jātaka* VI, pp. 129-57.
809. *Ibid.*, I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78; *Sivi Jātaka, Jātaka* IV, pp.401-12.
810. *Ibid.*, I, p. 293. *Ibid.*, pp.78- 81; *Vessentara Jātaka, Jātaka* VI, pp.479-593.
811. *Ibid.*, I, p. 294; *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83; *Sasa Jātaka, Jātaka* III, pp.51-56.
812. *Ibid.*, I, p. 294; *Ibid.*, p. 84; *Jātaka*, I, pp. 319-22.
813. *Ibid.*, I, p. 294; *Ibid.*, p., 85; *Jātaka* Vi. pp. 157-219.
814. *Ibid.*, I, p. 295; *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86; *Jātaka*IV, pp. 454-68.
815. *Ibid.*, I, p. 295; *Ibid.*, p. 86; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 22-27.
816. *Ibid.*, I, p. 295; *Ibid.*, p. 87; *Jātaka* II, pp. 385-87.
817. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 295-96; *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 255-63.
818. *Ibid.*, I, p. 296; *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89. *Jātaka* IV, pp. 375-90.
819. *Ibid.*, I, p. 296; *Ibid.*, p. 89 *Jātaka* IV, pp. 100-04.
820. *Ibid.*, I, p. 296; *Ibid.*, p. 90 *Jātaka* V, pp. 21-36.
821. *Ibid.*, I, p. 297; *Ibid.*, p. 91 *Jātaka* V, pp. 161-77.
822. *Ibid.*, I, p. 297; *Ibid.*, p. 92; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 119-23.

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823. *Ibid.*, I, p. 297; *Ibid.*, p. 92-93; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 444-54.
824. *Ibid.*, I, p. 298; *Ibid.*, p. 94; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 491-99.
825. *Ibid.*, I, p. 295; *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95; *Jātaka* IV, pp. 304-14.
826. *Ibid.*, I, p. 298; *Ibid.*, p. 95; *Jātaka* V, pp. 312-32.
827. *Ibid.*, I, p. 299; *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97; *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 1-30.
828. *Ibid.*, I, p. 299; *Ibid.*, p. 97; *Jātaka* II, pp. 268-70.
829. *Ibid.*, I, p. 299; *Ibid.*, p. 97; *Jātaka* I, pp. 322-27.
830. *Ibid.*, I, p. 299; *Ibid.*, p. 98; *Jātaka* I, pp. 212-15.
831. *Ibid.*, I, p. 299; *Ibid.*, p. 99; *Jātaka* I, pp. 210-12.
832. *Ibid.*, I, p. 300; *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100; *Jataka* I, pp. 27-37.
833. *Ibid.*, I, p. 300; *Ibid.*, pp. 100-01; *Jātaka* V, pp. 456-11.
834. *Ibid.*, I, p. 300; *Ibid.*, p. 101; *Jātaka* VI, pp. 68-95.
835. *Ibid.*, I, p. 300; *Ibid.*, pp. 101-02; *Jātaka* III, p. 13-15.
836. *Ibid.*, I, p. 301; *Ibid.*, p. 102; *Jātaka* I, pp. 389-91.

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4

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* Texts

Structure and Organization

The *Vinaya Piṭaka*[1] is the "basket of the discipline of the order". It means a basket which contains manuscripts of *Vinaya* or the rules of discipline. It mentions the rules and regulations which not only guide the Buddhist *Saṅgha* but mention the conduct of the daily life of monks (*bhikkhus*) and nuns (*bhikkhuṇīs*). During the early period the Buddha himself introduced these rules and regulations for the progress and development of his religion. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* delas mainly with moral practices. *Sīla*, which is the code of morality, is its important subject-matter. It also refers to rules for discipline, rules for reception into the *Saṅgha*, rules for the periodical confession of sins, rules for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medicinal remedies and rules relating to legal procedure for occurrence of schism in the *Saṅgha*. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* can be described as an important source of information relating to the Buddhist *Saṅgha* and the life led by the Buddhist monks in the *Saṅgha*. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* has the following texts : (1) The *Suttavibhaṇga*, (2) the *Khandhakas*, and (3) the *Parivāra* or the *Parivārapāṭha*. Hirakawa Akira[2] gives an account of the organisation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. He says, "Seven full *Vinayas* are extant today. Besides the *Vinaya of the Theravāda* school (in Pāli) and the Tibetan translation of the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*, five Chinese translations of complete *Vinayas* are extant. In addition, some Sanskrit *Vinaya* literature has survived.

The *Thervavāda Vinaya* is divided into three parts: *Sutta Vibhaṅga*, Khandhaka (consisting of two sections, *Mahāvagga* and

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Cullavagga) and *Parivāra*. The first part, the *Suttavibhaṅga*, is a commentary on the *Sutta* or *Pātimokkha*. In the *Tharavāda Vinaya*, the monks are expected to follow 227 precepts; the nuns 311 precepts. The precepts for monks are divided into the following categories, which vary as to the severity of the infraction : four *pārājika* offences, thirteen *saṅghādisesa* offences, two *aniyata* offences, thirty *nissaggiya-pācittiya* offences, ninety-two *pācittiya* offences, four *pātidesaniya* offences and seventy-five *sekhiya dhamma* offences. With the exception of the Categories of the *pācittiua* and *sekhiya-dhamma*, the numbers of the precepts in the various *Vinaya Piṭakas* are the same. Only slight differences are found in the number of the *pācittiya* precepts with figures ranging from ninety to ninety-two. However the number of the *sekhiya dhamma* (*śaikṣa-dharma*) ranges from sixty-six to one hundred thirteen, indicating major differences in the category.

The *Suttavibhaṅga* is an explanation of the precepts listed in the *Pātimokkha*. The *Vinayas* of the various schools have a similar format. The second division of the *Vinaya*, the *Khandhaka* (literally, "chapters"), is divided into two parts : the *Mahāvagga* consists of ten chapters, the *Cullavagga*, twelve. These contain the rules by which the order is to be manage. Sections corresponding to it are found in the *Vinayas* of other schools. The third major division in the Pāli *Vinaya* is the *Parivāra*. Since no corresponding division is found the *Vinaya* of other schools, it must have been added at a later date to the *Theravada* text. Because the organisation and the contents of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and *Khandhaka* are found in the *Vinaya* of other schools, those sections must have been established before the first schism."

R.C. Childers[3] describes that the *Vinaya Piṭaka* has five books, which are *Pārājikaṃ*, *Pācittiyaṃ*, *Mahāvagga*, *Cullavagga* and *Parivāra*. He says further that the *Khandhaka* is one of the divisions of the *VinayaPiṭaka*[4] and from Buddhagha's account of the first council it is known that the *Khandhaka* is a collective name for the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*. There are minor *Khandhakas*.[5] The *Mahāvaṁsa*[6] refers to the *Vassupanāyikaṁ Khandhakaṁ* or section which discusses the mode of commencing the *Vassa* residence.

THE SUTTAVIBHAṄGA

The *Suttavibhaṅga* signifies the explanations or expositions of the

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suttas.[7] The word "*Sutta*", which corresponds to the Sanskrit "*Sūtra*" means "thread".[8] It is applied to a kind of book, the contents of which are, as it were, a thread, giving the gist or substance. This sort of book was the latest development in *Vedic* literature just before and after the rise of Bushism".[9] The Buddhists think that the word means a discourse or a chapter. The *Suttavibhaṅga*[10] mentions firstly how, when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. Then there is an account of the words of the rule in full. Then comes a very ancient word for word commentary. After it there are further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. T.W. Rhys Davids describes that the *Suttavibhaṅga* "tells us firstly how and when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. This historical introduction always closes with the words of the rule in full. Then follows a very ancient word for word commentary so old that it was already about B.C. 400 (the probable approximate date of the *Suttavibhaṅga*) considered so sacred that it was included in the canon. And the old commentary is succeeded, where necessary, by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. These are sometimes of very great historical value. The discussions, for instance (in the rules as to murder and theft), of what constitutes murder, and what constitutes theft, anticipate in a very remarkable degree the kind of fine-drawn distinctions found in modern law boooks. The passages when made accessible, in translation, to Western scholars, must be of the greatest interest to students of the history of law, as they are quite the oldest documents of that particular kind in the world".[11] The *Suttavibhaṅga* consists of the *Mahāvibhaṅga* which discusses eight classes of transgressions against discipline and the *Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga* which deals with the rules for the nuns (*bhikkhuṇīs*). It is a shorter work. The *Mahāvibhaṅga* and the *Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga* are known as the *Pārājika* and the *Pācittiya* respectively. They are also known as *ubhatovibhaṅga*.

The *Pātimokkha*

The *Suttavibhaṅga* discusses all the rules which are given in the *Pātimokkha Sutta*. In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* the *Pātimokkha Sutta* has no separate existence. The *Suttavibhaṅga* includes it and the former was composed in order to deal with the rules of the *Pātimokkha*. Thus the *Suttavibhaṅga* "is nothing but an ancient commentary on the *Pātimokkha* consisting of two hundred and

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twenty-seven rules — a commentary which attained to the honour of being included in the canon".[12] The *Suttavibhaṅga* is based on an ancient commentary. It is known that in the *Mahāvagga* there is an evidence of the existence of an "ancient commentary". The "ancinet commentary" was known as a word for word commentary on the *Pātimokkha* rules without saying why, when, where and concerning whom the said rules were introduced by the Master. Later on these have been mentioned in the *Suttavibhaṅga*. Thus the *Suttavibhaṅga* can be mentioned as an improvement on the "ancient commentary".[13]

Of the five parts[14]constituting the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the *Pātimokkha* is mentioned as the nucleus around which the other parts have grown. It is a list of transgressions against the rules of discipline of the *Saṅgha* and it discusses the corresponding atonements. It is one of the oldest texts in the Buddhist canon and the oldest text also in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. It is a collection of liturgical formalities which governs the conduct of the *bhikkhus* (monks) and the *bhikkhunīs* (nuns) respectively. It describes the daily affairs of the Bhddhist *Saṅgha*. From a speech of Ānanda, the Buddha's disciple, we learn about the important role played by the *Pātimokkha* in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Ānanda told that the Buddha had not appointed anyone of his disciples as his successor nor gave him the supreme authority, but, even then, the community of monks would continue and progress because the Buddha told the monks about the *Sikkhāpada* and the *Pātimokkhas*. The *Pātimokkha* mean this is the beginning, this is the head or face, this is the foremost of states that are good; therefore it is called the *Pātimokkha*. "*Pātimokkha ti ādim etaṃ mukhaṃ etaṃ pāmukhaṃ etaṃ kusalānam dhammānam tena vuccati pātimokkhan ti*" It is that of which is the highest, the extraordinay high, the very best and the very highest. "*Pātimokkhan ti atimokkhaṃ patippāmokkhaṃ atisetheṃ ati-uttamaṃ*". Whosever follows the rules of the *Pātimokkha*, it releases him, delivers him from sufferings such as of the inferior states, and so it is called the *Pātimokkha*. "*Yo taṃ pātirakkhati taṃ mokkheti moceti apāyikadidukkhehi tasmā pātimokkhan ti vuccati*". The Chinese and the Tibetan translations interpret it as deliverance, liberation or emancipation for each and everyone and "*prati*" stands for "each", "every" and "*mokṣa*" for deliverance. The *Prātimokṣa Vinaya Sūtra* of the *Kāsyapīya* school is known as "*chieh-t'o-chieh- pan-ching*". It means the *Vinaya* text for deliverance. The Tibetan *So-ser-thar-pa* signifies "Disburdnement

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of each individual's sins". The *Vinaya-Mātṛkā-Śāstra* states that the *Prātimokṣa* means that one remains in the practice of *sīla* and *Vinaya*. It is, therefore, called *Prātimokṣa*. The *Mūlasarvastivāda-nikāya-Vinaya- Saṅgraha* of Jinamitra says that the *Prātimokṣa* means that he who practices according to the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* will obtain deliverance from all evil dispositions, and therefore it is called the *Prātimokṣa*. The *Prātimokkha Sutta* gives an account of exelesistical offences which requires confession and explanation. The life of the monks is rgulated by the rules of the *Pātimokkha*. The life of a good monk is "restrained by the restraints of the *Pātimokkha*". It may be described as the earliest manual of disciplinary rules which was complied for the guidance of monks and nuns.

The *Pātimokkha Sutta* has two parts —The *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha* and the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* for *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇis* respectively. The *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*[15] comprises eight sactions only and they are *Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa, Aniyata, Nissaggiya-Pācittiya, Pācittiya, Pātidesaniya, Sekhiya* and *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*. It has 227 rules of conduct, while the *Bhikkhuṇī-Pātimokkha* has seven sections and it contains 311 offences. Originally, the *Pātimokkha* had 152 rules, but they were extended tc 227, and these 227 rules of conduct were recited by the monks in the *Uposatha* ceremony. The *Pātimokkha Sutta* has seveval versions. The number of rules varies in different versions of the texts. In Sanskrit there are 263 rules, but in Tibetan we find 258 rules.

Here is given a chart showing the number of rules of the different versions :

	Pāli	*Sarvāsti-vāda*	*Mūla-sarvas-tivāda*	*Dharma-gupta*	*Mahā-saṅ-ghika*	*Mahisā-saka*	*Kāsya-piya*
Pārājika	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Saṅghādisesa	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
Aniyata	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Missaggiya-Pācittiya	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Pacittiya	92	90	90	90	92	91	90
Pātidesaniya	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Sekhiya	75	113	108	100	66	100	96
Adhikaraṇa-samatha	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Total	227	263	258	250	218	251	246

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It is to be noted here that the offence which may be committed by monks and nuns have been arranged according to their gravity, i.e., from graver to the lighter. Thus the *Pātimokkha* opens with the *Pārājika*—the more serious offence (discusses four) which brings expulsion of the guilty from the Bushist *Saṅgha*. The next is the *Saghādisesa* offence (thirteen number) which brings temporary suspension of the offending monks. The third section is the *Aniyata* which refers to two cases which need circumstantial evidence to ascertain the offence. The Fourth section is the *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya* which discusses thrty offences that can be done by a monk who takes away things of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The fifth section is the *Pācittiya* which deals with 92 offences. The sixth section is the *Pātidesaniya* which mentions four offences relating to monk's taking food which has not given to him. The *Sekhiya* reminds us seventy-five instructions which are to be followed by a monk in his daily life. The last one is the *Adhikaraṇasamatha* or the means of setteing of disputes within the Buddhist *Saṅgha* which lists only seven offences.

The *Suttavibhaṇga* which is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha* begins with a story of a famine at Verañja when the Buddha visited this place. The Buddha left Verañja and came to Benares. From Benares he came to Vesālī and stayed at the Mahāvana Kūṭāgārasālā. A rich banker used to live at the village of Kalandaka near Vesālī. His son became a disciple of the Buddha and joined the Buddhist *Saṅgha* after listening ot eh Budhhas discourses. One day he went for alms in his own village and when his mother knew it she requested his wife to meet him and to beg for a son. He gave his consent and met his wife and then he returned to his monastery and said this matter to other monks. When the Budha knew it, he then introduced a rule for the discipline of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. When a monk committed sexual intercourse with a woman, he would then be guilty of *Pārājika* and he would be expelled from the *Saṅgha*. This was the first rule of the *Pārājika* and this was also the first rule of the *Pātimokkha*.[16] It may be described here that the Buddha framed and introduced rules in the Buddhist *Saṅgha* when the monks did not perform their duities properly. Every month the *Pātimokkha Sutta* is recited twice on the new moon and full moon days. The members of the *Saṅgha* in order to perform the *uposatha* ceremony assembled at the *uposatha* hall and after performing it, the various rules of the *Pātimokkha* are recited before the monks.

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Then after recitation each and everyone of monks who are present there is asked thrice if he has done anything wrong and is guilty of any of these rules. If any monk is guilty, he then confesses his guilt before the assembly of the monks. But if he has not done anything wrong, then it is his duty to keep quiet and he then does not speak anything. This indicates that he is pure in body and in mind.[17]

Evolution, no doubt indicates growth and many of the changes in the *Vinaya* rules signify clearly the growing activites of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. With the fame of the Buddha, the number of the followers of the *Saṅgha* increased. When the number increased, there was notice of the inconveniences, laspes and other shortcomings. In order to do something for discipline in the *Saṅgha*, many rules were introduced or modified according to the pressing needs of the *Saṅgha*. Of all the monastic laws, the *Vinaya* laws are most extensive and inform the legal aptitude as also the commensense on the part of the Buddhists. They are obviously vivid and move into minutest details, so that even a partial knowledge of them clearly informs of the monastic life of the early Buddhists. The literature on the *Vinaya* is canonical and explanatory. The canoncial literature has five books. Of the five books, the *Vibhaṅga*, espcially the first *Vbhaṅga*, which is known as the *Bhikkhu-Vilhṅga* is regarded as the most important and it deals with the oldest of the rules which were grouped under the "*Pātimokka*". This book, as already mentioned, refers to 227 offences and introduces laws to prohibit them and for punishment for each offence. From this we get a clear idea about the importance of the *Vinaya* in the life of the monks and it shows the rigidness of the *Vinaya*-laws. The second *Vibhaṅga* is the *Bhikkhuṇī-Vibhaṅga*. It is not as elaborate as the first one. The two *Khandhkas* are important no doubt. They also play an important role for the *Pātimokkha*. They can be mentioned as an important part of the *Vinaya*. Thus from the above facts we can say that *Pātimokkha Sutta* is not counted as a seperate text of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

(I) *The Pārājika*[18]

There are for *Pārājika* rules: (1) Whosoever monk has joined the Buddhist *Saṅgha* and has not been thereafter withdrawn from the training or told his weakness, shall do the sexual intercourse with

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anyone, down even to an animal, this monk then falls into a *Pārājika* offence and he is no longer in communion. (2) If a monk takens from a village or from a forest anything which is not given to him and which is counted as theft for this reason he falls into a *Pārājika* offence and he is no longer in communion with others. (3-4) If a monk deprives or helps to deprive a human being of his life or instigates him to self-destruction or describes the praises of death or without possessing any knowledge and without seeing the extraordinary qualities, tells a fruitless falsehood whth respect to his knowledge and insight, that monk falls into a *Pārājika* offence and he is no longer in communion with others.

(II) The *Saṅghādisesa*[19]

Section II of the *Pātimokkha Sutta* deals with thirteen offences and is entitled *Saṅghādisesa*. It is so-called because the imposition of the punishment as also the absolution from these offences require the presence of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* at the beginning as well as at the end. Here is given an account of the thirteen offences :

If a monk being pervaded by passion comes into bodily contact with a woman, addresses a woman with obscene, evil and vicious words, acts as a go-between a man and a woman and conveys the words of a man to a woman or those of a woman to a man, either for becoming a wife or for the purpose of adultery even for a moment, he falls into a *Saṅghādisesa* offence. If a monk builds up a hut or a big house for himself on a dangerous and obstructive site and does not bring the monks and does not show them the site and exceeds the proper measurement of the house, he then viclates a *Saṅghāadisesa* rule. If a monk, being in anger and malice, defame a pure and faultless monk in order to destroy his pure conduct on a groundless charge of having committed a *Pārājika* offence of which the latter is blameless, he shall fall into a *Saṅghādisesa* offence. If a monk tries to cause or helps to cause a division in the Buddhist *Saṅgha* which is in harmony, that monk should be admonished thrice by other monks. If he abandons his views, it is good, but if he does not, then he violates a *Saṅghādisesa* rule. If a monk takes his residence in a city or in a village and practices evil deeds and corrupts other families and when other monks admonish him thrice for his behavious, but, even then, he still persists in doing as before and has not given up it up, that is a *Saṅghādisesa* offence. If a monk passesses a bad temper and refuses to listen to what is spoken to him and when

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he is spoken to by the monks inaccordance with the *Dharma* and the *Vinaya*, will not allow anything to be said to him and he will say that you need not advise me anything. If that monk being thus admonished by other monks thrice, still persists as before, he violates a *Saṅghādisesa* rule. Of the thirteen offences, the first nine become sins at once, while the remaining four do not become sins until the end of the third admonition. If a monk is guilty of violating any of these rules, he will remain on probation for as many days as he has concealed his sin knowingly. He must undergo the *Mānatta* discippline for six further days and nights. Then the monk must be reinstated in some place where the community of monks forms a body of twenty.

(III) The *Aniyata*[20]

The *Aniyata* deals with two kinds of offence which relates to the conduct of a monk with a nun. The offence committed by a monk may or may be of a serious nature and it is for this reason, according to the nature of the offence, the punishment varies. That is why, this section is known as i*Aniyata*. If a monk in solitary protected place, which is suitable for carrying out lustful desires, takes a seat with a woman, who when trustworthy of speech charges him with offences either under the *Pārājika* or under the *Saṅghādisesa* or under the *Pācittiya* rules, if he then acknowledges his offence, accordingly he should be dealt with. If a monk in an open place which is not suitable for carrying out lustful desires but it is convenient for addressing a woman with wicked or obscene words takes his seat with a woman, who, when trustworthy of speech, brings charge against his with offences either under the *Parājika* or under the *Saṅghādisesa* or under the *Pācittiya* or under the other rules. If he acknowledges his offence then he should be dealt with accordingly.

(IV) The *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya*[21]

The *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya* deals with thirty rules and it has three sub-sections—*civara* (*Kaṭhina* robe), *loma* (wool) and *Patta* (bowl). The twenty-six of these rules mention the accepting gifts of robes, woolen blankets, bowl and medicine and remaining four are miscellaneous rules—the first describes acceptance of gold and silver (No. 18), the second and third speak of buying and selling (Nos. 19-20) and the fourth refers to appropriation (No. 30). The punishment prescribed for violating these rules is that thing

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received by a monk in contravention of the condition imposed must be given up (*nissaggiya).* And then he expresses his regret for his misdeeds formally.

If a monk receives a robe at the time of the *Kaṭhina* ceremony, he then keeps an extra robe up to the end of a period of not more than ten days, and a monk cannot remain without any of his three robes while sleeping elsewhere even for a single night without the *Saṅgha's* permission, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittya.* If he receives a robe out of season, he may accept it if he needs it, but if it is sufficient, it is good, but, if not, he may keep it up to the end of a month if he hopes that the deficiency may be supplied. But he cannot keep it beyond the time of one month. If a monk takes a robe except in exchange and a *bhikkhuṇi* or nun who is not related to him has washed or dyed, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācitiya.* If a monk asks a householder or a householder's wife, who is not related to him, for a robe, and if he receives it except at the right season, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk has lost his robe or his robe has been burnt or has been carried away by water and if he asks a householder or a householers's wife who is not related to him, for a rob, who gladly offers him a choice for many robes, he can accept only the materials for making an upper and a lower garment only, but if he takes more, then it is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk desirous of receiving a fine robe, goes to the place of a householder or a householder's wife who is not related to him and give suggestion to him or to her for a particular kind of robe and if he accepts it, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a king or a minister or a householder sends the price of a robe for a particular monk through a messanger, a monk can not accept the price of a robe. The messanger then requests the agent, who is the head of the monastery or a house-holder who manages affairs on behalf of the *Saṅgha,* to give a set of ronbes ot that particular monk when he will come to him for a robe. This monk then desirous of receiving a set of robes goes to the agent and requests him up to the sixth time that he is in need of robes. If he succeeds in getting them, it is well, but, even then, if he does not get his robes, he cannot make any further request; but if he again requests him beyond that limit, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

If a monk gets a rug or mat which is made with pure silk or which is made of pure black wool of goat, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk is desirous of making a mat or rug without

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taking two parts of pure black wool of goat, the third part of white wool and the fourth part of wool of inferior quality, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk makes a new rug whithin six years, he will have to take permision from the *Saṅgha.* If he does not take permission, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk on the road gets some goat's wool and he can carry it up to a distance of nearly six miles, but if he carries it further, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk gets goat's wool which is washed or dyed or combed out by a *bhukkhuṇī* (nun) who is not related to him, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

If a monk receives gold or silver with his own hand or gets some-one to receive for him and allows it to keep as a deposit for him, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk tries to buy various kinds of articles with gold and silver, and engages himself in anyone of the various kinds of buying and selling, that it *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

A monk can keep a spare bowl up to the limit of ten days, but if he exceeds that limit, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk asks for a new bowl when his old one is broken in less than five places for the sake of getting something fine, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

If a monk himself asks for yarn and if he employs a weaver, who is not related to him, in order to make a cloth with it, that is *Nissagggiya-Pācittiya.* If a householder or a householder's wife, who is not related to the monk, takes the help of weavers to make cloth for him and if that monk, before the offer has been made to him, wants to receive a good robe goes to the weaver on a certain pretext and tells him, "weave it nicely, make it long and broad. I shall give you some little tip (article)". If that monk later on gives him something such as meal, or an utensil or even a price which is equal to that of a meal, for obtaining the cloth, and if he gets it, that is *Nissaggiya Pācittiya.* If a monk gives a robe to another monk, but after some time being angry or displeased with him, takes it away or has taken it away, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* If a monk receives a robe as a gift on a special occasion ten days before the end of the rainy season, if he needs a robe, he may then accept it with his own hand and he can keep it till the robe time, but not beyond that, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* When the three months of the summer are over, if a monk lives in the forest and his mind is troubled by doubt, fear and anger, if he wants, he then

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can leave one or other of his three robes in a hut and if there be any reason he then can go away from the boundary of his residence and can sleep without them up to the sixth night, but if he exceeds that limit, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

If a monk knows that the donor wants to dedicate articles to the *Saṅgha*, he then requests the donor to give these articles to him instead of giving these articles to the *Saṅgha*, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.* The Buddha has given permission to the sick monks to take four kinds of medicine—ghas, oil, honey and molasses. The sick monks can store them for their use up to the seventh day, but if he keeps them beyond seven days, that is *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya.*

V. The *Pācitiya*[22]

The *Pācittiya* deals with 90 rules in nine sub-sections. Most probably the rules were framed as circumstances arose and it is for this reason there is no uniformity in their groupings. When a monk expresses regret formally, he obtains expiation.

If a monk tells a lie knowingly, uses abusive language and slanders another monk, that is *Pācittiya.* If a monk again stirs up for the decision, a matter which he knows that it has been settled by the *Saṅgha* in accordance with the *dhamma* and if he delivers the doctrine in more than five or six words to a woman, that is *Pācittiya.* If a monk teaches clause by clause the metrical (*chanda*) *gāthā* to several persons who have not yet received the higher ordination and speaks of his own superhuman power (in seeing or knowing), in the presence of a person who has not yet ordainned, that is *Pācittiya.* If a monk knowing the grave offence of another monk tells it to a person who has not yet received the higher ordination and says that the monks for the sake of friendship have given away the property of the *Saṅgha* to their own man, that is *Pācittiya.* If a monk at the time of the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* says that "what is the use of reciting each half month the minute little precepts in the *Pātimokkha* On account of reciting them, the mind of the monk becomes regretful, ruinous, upset, heated, sorrowful, unhappy and rebellious against the rules". If he tells such disdainful words about the precepts, that is *Pācittiya.*

If a monk destroys grass and trees and absues others, that is, *Pācittiya.* If a monk brings or helps another to bring in the open

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the furnitures of the *Saṅgha* such as chairs, mats or carpets for sitting or lying on it, if he does not while going away keep it in its former place or does not help another to keep it in its former place, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk being angry or displeased with another monk tells him to leave the residence and does not allow him to stay there and helps to throw him out of the residence of the monks and says to him thus : "you get out, go away beyond sight and you should not stay here", and in a dwelling place of the monks knowing that other monks have already placed their beds shall forcefully sit down or lie down and tries to spread his bedding and think thus, "those who dont like it, they may go away", that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk knows that there are creatures in the water and sprinkles it on grass or on clay or helps other to do the same, that the *Pācittiya*.

If a monk gives admonition to the *Bhikkhuṇīs* (nuns) and even deputed by the *Saṅgha* gives admonition to *bhikkhuṇīs* (nuns) after the sun has set, that this *Pācittiya*. If a monk states that the monks gives instructions to nuns for the sake of gain, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk travels by appointment on a road in the company of a nun except on the right occasion, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk takes the same boat by appointment with a nyn except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side, that is *Pācittiya* or makes a robe for a nun who is not related to him, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk takes a seat with a nun in a covered solitary place or with a woman in the open, that is *Pācittiya* .If a monk takes food which is procured by the intervention of a nun, that is *Pācittiya*

If a monk takes food many a time except on the right occasion, that is *Pācittiya*. A monk, who is not sick, can take one meal only at a place where he can receive one meal free, but if he takes meal and eats more than one, that is *Pācittiya*. A householder offers cakes or flour to the monks who arrive at his house for alms and he offers them as much as they like, if the monks are in need of it, they can take two or three bowls full, but if they accept more than that, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk has finished his meal and again takes his meal without performing the ceremony of leaving over the food, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk knows that a certain monk has finished his meal and has not observed the ceremony of leaving over the food, invites him and gives him eatables and drinkables as much as he likes and if he accuses this monk to be

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annoyed, and for no other reason than this, even for a moment, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk eats food at the wrong time or in order to store it he keeps food which has been left over, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk, when he is not sick, asks for his own use milk, curds, butter, ghee, oil, fish from householders, that is *Pācittiya*.

If a monk knowingly drinks or uses water with living beings in it and takes his seat with a woman in a sleeping place of a house where a meal is going on, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk with his own hand serves food to a naked ascetic or to a *Parivrājaka* (paribbājaka) or to an *Acelaka* and goes to see an army drawn up in battle array (literally means "marching army"), that is, *Pācittiya*. Owing to some reasons if a monk goes to the army, he cannot stay there beyond the limits of two nights. But if he stays there beyond the limits of two nights, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk being angry and displeased with another monk tries to beat him with hand and tries to threaten him with his hand and although he knows another monk's gross offence yet he tries to canceal it even for one night, that is, *Pācittiya*.

If a monk, who is not sick, wants to warm himself and kindle a fire out of grass or wood or cowdung or rubbish personally or helps it to be kindled in the open, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk, when he has already given his consent to formal proceedings of the *Saṇgha*, conducted according to the *Dhamma*, but afterwards if he grumbles about it, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk sleeps for more than two nights in the same room with a person who has not yet ordained, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk and a *sāmaṇera* tell that thus we know the meaning of the doctrine of the Buddha and the practice of the obstructive qualities really does not bring any obstruction to the spiritual path. If the monks request both the monk and the *sāmaṇera* that it is not good for you to bear false witness and false accusation against the Buddha. But, even then, if they persist as before and if they warn them for the second and third time, and if they then abandon their opinions, it is well, if they do not and maintain their views as before, that is, *Pācittiya*. If monks tell the *sāmaṇera* that from today onward it is not good for you to say that the Buddha is your teacher and don't take a walk behind the monks. If a monk knows that this *sāmaṇera* has been expelled from *Saṅgha*, but he keeps him and sleeps in the same room with him, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk knows that such a person has spoken thus, but he keeps in communion with him,

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speaks to him and sleeps with him in the same room when he has not yet confessed his guilt according to the *Dhamma*, and has not abandoned his wrong views and he has been expelled from the *Saṅgha*, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk collects or helps another to collect a jewel or anything deemed as a jewel, except inside of a *vihāra* or residence, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk gets a new robe and if he does not disfigure his new robe with any of these three colours of disfigurement, viz., either blue or mud or black, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk takes batch within half a month, except, on the right occaasion, that is, *Pācittiya*.

If a monk deliberately deprives any animal of life, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk purposely behaves in a way which helps to create suspicion in another monk's mind, frightens another monk and he behaves in a way which causes him to be frightened even for a joke, and hides or helps others to hide a monk's bowl or robe or key or shoes even for a fun, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk plays in the water and sleeps in the same room with a woman, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk without any ground gives harassment to another monk with a charge of the *Saṅghādisesa* and by appointment goes along the same road with a woman and with a caravan of robbers even up to the next village, that is, *Pācittiya*.

If a monk confers the higher ordination upon a person whose age is below twenty, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk digs the ground with his own hands or engages a person to dig it or give hints, that is, *Pācittiya*. A monk may accept an invitation four months. But if he accepts it beyond that limit unless there is a special invetation, that is, *Pācittiya* If a monk at the time of the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* says that he has not yet learnt this rule, at first he wants to make enquiries concerning it from those monks who are well-versed in the recitation of the *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*, that is, *Pācittiya*. If a monk stands quietly in a covered place in order to overhear when the monks are quarelling or they are disturbing and are making noise or are busy in a dispute, with an intention that he tries to keep in mind whatsoever the monk say, that is, *Pācittiya*. When the *Saṅgha* is busy in doing an enquiry, if a monk then quietly rises from his seat and goes away, that is *Pācittiya*. If a monk shows disrespect to other monks, drinks liquors, and enters a village at that hour which is not suitable for a monk, and he does not inform it to other good monks, unless there is a cause, that is, *Pācittiya*. When a monk

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has got invitation for a dinner, but he goes to another family to take food either before or after that dinner, that is, *Pācittiya.*

If a monk at the time of the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* says that now for the first time he notices that the rule is included in the *Pātimokkha Sutta.* Then other monks abuse him for his comment so that he has a chance to express his regret. A monk cannot use a needle-case which is made of bone or ivory or horn but he can use a chair or a bed with its legs eight inches in size and if he exceeds that limit, that is *Pācittiya.* If a monk makes a garment for the rainy season, he then makes it with the right measurement. If a monk wants to make a rug, then it is his duty to make it in right measurement. If a monk makes a robe which is larger than his size, that is *Pācittiya.*

(VI) The *Pātidesanīya*[23]

The *Pātidesanīya* contains four rules. All these rules relate to the taking of food by a monk. If a monk confeesses his offence, he then gets the absolution of offence. When a monk is not sick, but, if he then accepts food with his hand from a nun (*bhikkhuṇī*) who is in the house of the lay disciple and is not related to him, that monk then confesses his sin to the monks, saying that he has fallen into a blameworthy offence, and it is his duty now to confess it and he is now confessing it. This is the first *Pātidesanīya* rule.

When a layman invites many monks to take food at his place and when those monks go there and are eating at his place, at that time if there is a nun (*bhikkhuṇī*) who is not related to them, is staying there and is giving direction, "give rice to this monk, give soup to this monk", the monks then speak to her: "stand aside, sister, for a little while till the monks have finishing eating". If the monks fail to rebuke her, then that is an offence. Those monks then confess to other monks, and tell them that they have fallen, venerable sirs, into a blameworthy offence, and it is their duty now to confess it and they are now confessing it.

There are families which the *Saṅgha* has announced to be families under discipline. If a monk knows that such families have been declared by the *Saṅgha* to be families under discipline, but, even then, he accepts food and eatables from them with his own hand without previous invitation, it is the duty of a monk now to confess it to other monks, saying that he has fallen, venerable

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sirs, into a blameworthy offence and it is his duty to confess it and now he is confessing it.

If a monk lives in an insecure and dangerous forest-dwelling and accepts food with his own hand at his place without having given notice previously of the danger to those who go to the forest, then that is also an offence. It is the duty of a monk to confess it to other monks, saying that he has fallen, venerable sirs, into a blameworthy offence, and it is his duty now to confess it and he is now confessing it.

(VII) The *Sekhiya*[24]

Section VII of the *Pātimokkha Sutta* is called *Sekhiya*. It deals with 75 rules relating to matters connected with discipline. In order to guide the monks these rules were introduced in the *Saṅgha*. The monks should always wear the inner-garment or under-garmant rounded and well-arranged. They should put on the robe rounded and well-adjusted. They should go and sit in the layman's house with a well-covered body, in a well-controlled manner and without casting glances and without tucking up the robe on one side. They should enter and sit in the layman's house with a little sound, without kneeling down, without swinging the arms, without swaying the body, without moving about the head, without interlacing the hands and without bending the leg and placing one leg upon the other. When they sit in the layman's house they should not place the palm against the cheek.

The monks should receive food and soup with a concentrated mind, should eat equal rice and soup and should receive food without allowing the contents of the bowl to be overflowing. They should eat without scooping a particular portion. They should not select food from the bowl. They should not make big handfuls of rice which just suit and mouth. They should not open the mouth and wait for the food. They should not talk while the food is in the mouth and should not make sound while the food is being chewed and should not let the check swell up with food. They should not protrude the tongue while eating. They should not lick the hand and should not shake the hand while eating and should not receive the eating vessel with a soiled hand. They should not cover soup with rice with the hope of getting more and should not ask for soup and rice for themselves when they are not sick. They should not look into one's neighbour's bowl with hatrad. They should eat

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in order and with a concentrated mind. They should not throw away the bowl-rinsing water in the laity's house unless the host is informed before hand.

The monke should not preach to persons who are riding on horses, who are in front of the monks and they themselves are at the back and who are on the road, while the monks are away from the road, unless they are sick. They should not deliver doctrine to persons who are in high positions whereas the monks are in low positions, unless they are sick. They should not preach the doctrine to persons who sit while the monks are standing. They should not deliver the doctrine to persons who are lying down whilst the monks sit, unless they are sick. They should not deliver the doctrine to persons who cover their heads, and who have turbans on their heads unless they are sick. They should not preoach the doctrine to a person who tucks up the robe on the left and the right side and who lets his robe falls down, unless he is sick,They should not preach the doctrine to persons who wear leather shoes and hold sticks, umbrellas, knives five feet in length, bows, arrows and various kinds of weapons, unless they are sick. They should not cast ordure, urine, spittle on growing grass and into the pure water unless they are sick. They should not climb higher on a tree than the height of a man unless there is a reason for it.

It is to be noted here that the nature of these *Sekhiya* rules is concerned with the daily conduct and decorum of the monks, such as walking, moving to and fro, looking, dressing, contracting and stratching and so forth. They do not come under any section, because there will not be any punishment for their violations. If a monk violates any of them, then it is not considered as a criminal act, but simply it counts as bad manners. Thus the *Sekhiya* rules are minor disciplinary rules. We can say that they are rather rules of etiquette which will help to guide novices, i.e., *sāmaṇeras* in their daily lives. Therefore, the violation of any of them by a monk is not considered to be a serious offence, and for its violation there will not be any punishment. As the *Pātimokkha* code was considered to be the most vital code of rules which are regularly recited in the *Uposatha* ceremony, these minor disciplinary rules, i.e., the *Sekhiyas* were also considered to be included within the *Pātimokkha*. Because they might be committed to memory and it would be easy for the novices to follow them. It is quite true that

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the *Sekhiya* section is not actually concerned with any legal dealing and one is not likely to receive any punishment even if he violates the rule prescribed therein, but, in spite of it, we can fully justify the inclusion of the *Sekhiya* rules in the *Pātimokkha*.

(VIII) The *Adhikaraṇa-Samatha*[25]

We find that the word "*Adhikaraṇa*" is a particular object of dispute or it is a matter of dispute. The word "*Samatha*" means how to pacify it or how to settle a dispute in peace and in order. There are seven different types of settlement of disputes. They are explained as follows :

(1) Procedings in presence (*Sammukhāvinaya*) — Here the dispute is settled in the following ways: (a) in the presence of the offending in monks, or (b) in the presence of the *Saṅgha*, or (c) according to the rules laid down in the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*.

(2) Proceeding for the consciously innocent (*Sativinaya*) — In case of a dispute fit to be settled from recollection, then that should be conducted according to recollection. When a monk has been charged with any miscounduct of which he is really innocent, then he should be asked to appear before the *Saṅgha* to repudiate his guilt and thereby to say something to prove his innocence.

(3) Procedding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind (*Amūḷha Vinaya*) — In case of a dispute fit to be settled for a person who is no longer out of his mind, that should be conducted when that person is no longer out of his mind. When a monk has been charged with any offence committed dealing with insanity, then in order to confess his offence he should be asked to apear before the *Saṅgha* and to say something in order to express regret as it was due to insanity.

(4) Proceding by majority of the chapter (*Yebhuyyasikā*) — In case of a dispute fit to be settled with an enquiry into the nature of the offence by a majority of the monks, that should be conducted. This is a type of settlement of disputes by the vote of majority. The voting system is conducted with the help of marked pieces of wood (*asallākas*). When the procedure No. I fails, then this system is adopted.

(5) Proceeding for the obstinate (*Tassapāpiyyasikā*) — In case of a dispute fit to be settled with an enquiry into the nature of the

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offence, then that inquiry into the nature of offence, i.e., into its true nature or into the root-cause should be made. This form can be accepted only when a monk after interrogation tries to prevaricate and does not say what has happened exactly or he is guilty of obstinacy.

(6) Proceeding by covering over as with grass (*Tiṇavatthāraka*) — When various disputes aries in the *Saṅgha*, then it is the duty of the *Saṅgha* to settle these disputes and to annihilate them as in the manner of grass covering over the field. It is the duty of the *Saṅgha* to observe it in this way. In order to avoid further quarrels and disputes among the monks and to do something for the good of the *Saṅgha*, this form can be adopted. By suppressing it, the dispute is brought to a close.

(7) Proceeding on confession of guilt (*Paṭiññāya*) — In case of a dispute fit to be settled on confession of guilt, then it is the duty of the *Saṅgha* to conduct it on confession of guilt. This form can be adopted when a monk is guilty of a slight transgression. For this case the procedure is that the guilty monk approaches another senior monk and then before him confesses his guilt and then he gets absolution.

THE *KHANDHAKAS*[26]

The *Khandhakas* have two divisions: (I) the *Mahāvagga* and (II) the *Cullavagga*. The *Māhavagga* has ten chapter and the *Cullavagga* contains twelve chapters.

(I) The *Mahavagga*

The *Mahāvagga*[27] is known as the greater division. It describes Gautama's enlightenment, his missionary activities and his important role for preaching his *dhamma* and his first disciples. It refers to the first sermon of the Buddha at Benares, the Fire Sermon and the ordination of Rāhula. It mentins rules for admission into the *Saṅgha*, the observance and the importance of the *Uposatha* ceremony and the *Pātimokkha*, the *Vassa Vāsa* or monk's residence during the rainy season, the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony etc. It is to be noted here that the ceremoney of *Pavāraṇā* appeared in the Buddhist *Saṅgha* when the introduction of the *Vassa Vāsa*, i.e., the residence of monks during the rainy season, took place in the *Saṅgha*. The former was closely associated with the latter from very early times. The *Mahāvaggha* introduces rules

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in order to determine the validity and invalidity of the formal acts of the *Saṅgha* and to restore the order in the *Saṅgha*. It also prescribes certain medicines for certain specified diseases for the monks.

After his enlightenment the Buddha[28] took his seat for seven days at the foot of the *Bodhi* Tree and obtained the knowledgte of the "*Paṭiccasamuppāda Dhamma*" or "the Law of Dependent Causation". He then discovered that *Avijjā* (ignorance) and *Taṅhā* (craving) were the root causes of all troubles and through intense meditation the cessation of *Avijjā* and *taṅhā* was attainable. He then took his seat for seven days at the foot of the Ajapāla Nigrodha and enjoyed the nectar of emancipation (*vimutti sukha*) and explained the virtues which characterise a true *Brāhmaṇa* to a *Brāmaṇa* of *Huhuṃka* tribe. He then took his seat at the foot of the Mucalinda tree for seven days and enjoyed the bliss of *Nibbāna* and took the hospitality of a dragon king named Mucalinda. He then took his seat for seven days at the Rājāyatana tree and met two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika who became his first two lay disciples. Then he came back to Ajapāla Nigrodha and resolved to preach his doctrine to a certain section of intellectual people. From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that just after his enlightenment the Buddha hesitated to preach his new doctrine to the people. But afterwards at the request of Brahmā Sahampati he undertook the task of preaching his *Dhamma* to the people. Then he took up the idea of a *Saṅgha*. Every delinquency on the part of a monk reported to him hed his immediate attention and a rule was framed to avert its future repetition. Thus were converted the *Pañca Vaggiyas* or the Group of Five Aññakondañña *Koṇḍañña*, *Vappa*, *Bhaddiya*, *Mahānāma* and *Assaji*; Yasa and his friends; the Bhaddavaggiya; the Jaṭilas and many others who belonged to the different strata of the society to the new religion of the Buddha. With these disciples numbering over one thousand the Buddha established his first *Saṅgha*. The *Upasampadā* ordination was then conferred by a very simple way. It consisted of an address of welcome by the Blessed One and it contained only two words "*Ehi Bhikkhu*" or "*Etha Bhikkhavo*" according as the number of converts was singular or plural. The candidate or candidates thus addressed immediately became a monk (*bhikkhu*) or monks (*bhikkhus*) without having to undergo many formalities which were introduced later. The first *Saṅgha* was formed but for the accommodation of all the monks there was no *vihāra*. The

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Mahāvagga mentions that King Bimbisāra of Magadha who accepted the Buddha's religion as the religion and became his lay-devotee gave his Veluvana *Vihāra* to the Buddha and his disciples and thus the first Buddhist *Vihāra* was established. The Buddha then from Rājagaha want to Kapilavatthu. He permitted Rāhula to join the *Saṅgha*. Among other *Śākyas* who joined the *Saṅgha* were Nanda, Ānanda, Devadatta, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Kimbila and Upāli.

Shortly after the despatch of the first group of monks, who used to bring in a large number of disciples for ordination by the Buddha, but this gave him unnecessary trouble and worry. For this reason the rule was issued and it gave power to every monk to ordain on behalf of the Buddha all such disciples under the "*Tisaraṇa* formula", i.e., in the name of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*, wherever they might be found. In order to avoid the ill-advised people who wanted to join the *Saṅgha* for protection, stricter laws were introduced in the *Saṅgha*. In the beginning, the *Saṅgha* did not make any difference in respect of the bestowal of *Pabbajjā* or admission of persons to the *Saṅgha* as novices and *Upasampadā* or admission of novices to the *Saṅgha* as monks or full membership of the *Saṅgha* on novices between adults and boys below the age of twenty. Attracted by the comfortable life of the monks, some of the guardians of boys allowed these boys to join the *Saṅgha* and to receive *Pabbajjā* and *Upasampadā*. But these boys did not behave properly. Thus it was laid down that no person below the age of twenty should be ordained, and at the same time, it should also be observed that none below the age of fifteen received *Pabbajjā*. But due to deplorable circumstances even boys below the age of fifteen were allowed admission into the *Saṅgha*. They were admitted into the *Saṅgha* under a special kind of *Pabbajjā* called *Kākuṭṭepaka Pabbajjā* and their duty was to scare away crows from the *Vihāra* compound. After *Pabbajjā*, a *sāmaṇera* was asked to observe only the ten precepts, "*Dasa Sikkhāpadāni*",[29] and after *Upasampadā*, a monk was asked to observe the four *Pārājikas* and other rules of the *Pātimokkha*. After *Upasampadā* the monk was informed of the four great resources (*Nissayā*)[30] upon which he had to depend. The mention of these resources at the time of *Pabbajjā* was, however, forbidden, as it had a very bad effect on the growth of the *Saṅgha* itself and was allowed only at the time of the *Upasampadā*.

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Division of disciples into groups of teachers and pupils took place in the *Saṅgha* immediately after its originator wanted it to became a centre of teaching and discipline. From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that the Buddha noticing the ill-behaviour of his followers introduced two kinds of instructors for their proper guidance. They were *ācariya* and *upajjhāva*, one attached to the former was called *antevāsika*, while the other attached to the *Upajjhāya* was called *saddhivihārika*. Being formally elected to the *Upajjhāya* was called *Saddhivihārika*. Being formally elected at the *Upasampadā* ceremony, the *ācariya* was an instructor only in name, while the *Upajjhāya* was an instructor in practice. The *Mahāvagga* gives us with minutest details about *ācariya* and *antevāsika*, and *upajjhāya* and *saddhivihārika*. Generally a newcomer should live for the first ten years in unquestionable dependence upon his *upajjhāya* and *ācariya*. But this period could be relaxed in the case of learned competent monk who had to live only for five years in dependence on his preceptor. But unlearned one, on the other hand, had to live all his life in such a dependence. The *upajjhāya* or the *ācariya* ought to consider the *saddhivihārika* or the *antevasika* as a son and the *saddhivihārika* or the *antevāsika* ought to consider the *upajjhāya* or the *ācariya* as a father. Thus, these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life, progressed, advanced and reached a high stage in this doctrine and discipline. Apart from his studies and monastic duties, the *saddhivihārika* or the *antevāsika* was to act as a personal attendant of the *upajjhāye* or the *ācariya*. The teacher who had the training for atleast ten years should be a competant monk. His duty was to make his ward observe and practise the *Vinaya* rules. The *saddhivihārika*'s or *antevāsika*'s duty was to render all possible services to his teacher. He must be respectful to all monks and should never speak ill of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*. He was taught not only the moral laws and conduct but was also initiated into the mysteries of Buddhist philosophy.

In conformity with the high moral standard of the *Saṅgha* further restrictions on admission were introduced by debarring particular sets of people who were immoral or had any liability to the society or to the state, such as soldiers, criminals etc. Also men who suffered from bodily defects or diseases and who were addicted to vice, were not allowed to join the *Saṅgha*. Thus the whole body of the *Saṅgha* rejected everything that was morally

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impure and defective and introduced a very well-organised centre which became an important place for learning and discipline.

From the *Mahāvagga*[31] we learn that at the request of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, the Buddha intorduced into the *Saṅgha* the *Uposatha* ceremony. The Buddha's injunction to his disciples regarding the observance of this ceremony of *Uposatha* was that instead of talking about the *Dhamma*, they should recite on this particular day the *Sikkhāpadas* which comprise the code of rules for their own guidance and it became known as the "*Pātimokkha*". The *Uposatha* ceremony was to be held only once in a fortnight either on the 14th or 15th. It required the presence of all members of the *Saṅgha* to confess that sins of omission and commission committed, if any, during the preceding fortnight, the reason was to make the offenders as well as the assembly pure. The two *Uposatha* halls must not be fixed in one district; one would be abolished and *Uposatha* would be held in one place only. There was a necessity of boundary, i.e., *sīmā* for holding the *Uposatha* ceremony. This *Uposatha* assembly, however, soon turned into ritualistic institution and it required the presence of not only the existing members of an *āvāsa* but also of those who belonged to another *āvāsa* but were present on the *Uposatha* day within the *sīmā* of that *āvāsa*. There were occasions when the members of an *āvāsa* held an assembly without being assured of the presence of members belonging to another *āvāsa* but dwelling within the *āvāsa* on the *Uposatha* day. Rules were laid down for *bona fide* mistakes, but, as a rule, if the members of another *āvāsa* were large in number, the assembly was held again.When, however, an assembly was feld deliberatily to avoide or to exclude the incoming members of another *āvāsa*, the members joining the assembly became guilty of either minor offence or major offence, according to the nature of the intention. The monks, however, were instructed not to leave their residence on the *Uposatha* day except on an urgent business of the *Saṅgha*. There was special procedure for the declaration of *Pārisuddhi* by a sick monk. The minimum number of members who could recite the *pātimokkha* was four; the declaration of *pārisuddhi* only, the minimum number of monks required was two, and in both the cases, the actual attendance of the members was indispensable. The recital of the *pātimokkha* could be made only in *Uposatha* assembly in which the members had declared their *pārisuddhi* and in which there was no nuns, *sāmaṇeras*, *sāmaṇerīs* or any monk undergoing punishment, or

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persons not admissible to the *Saṅgha*, i.e., eunuchh, hermaphrodite etc. The recital of the *pātimokkha* in the *Uposatha* assembly should be made in several abridged forms according to the cases of emergency. In case of necessity monks from other *āvāsas* were invited for reciting the *pātimokkha*. This ceremony was no doubt important for the religious life in the *Saṅgha* and it constituted the main bond of union in the *Saṅgha*. The observance of *Vassa Vāsa* became very popular among the Buddhist monks.

From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that *Vassa Vāsa* was introduced into the *Saṅgha* at that time when the Buddha was staying at the *Kalandaka Nivāpa* (feeding ground of squirrels) in the *Veluvana ārāma* of Rājagaha.[32] Two were the occasions when *Vassa vāsa* could be entered upon by the monks. One was earlier and the other later. The earlier one fell on the day following the full-moon day of the month of *Asāḷha* and the latter one fell on the day just a month afterwards and in either case it lasted for three months only. At the close of *Vassa vāsa* there were the *Pavāraṇā* and the *Kaṭhina* ceremonies. "Etymologically *Pavāraṇā* is the same word as *Vedic* "*Parva*" or "*Pārvaṇa*" or more commonly "*Pāraṇa*" which meant has breaking off an observance or a vow with merriments and feasts being the very common constituents of the *Pavāraṇā* of the Buddhist Order". The day of *Pavāraṇā* was generally held on the first full-moon day of the month of *Kattika* or the day previous to it.

The Buddha[33] ordained Soṇa Kolivisa and he gave him permission to use shoes which had one lining. He had eighty cart-leads of gold and a retinue of seven elephants. The Buddha advised the monks not to use shoes which had edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange or yellowish colour. The monks were not allowed to wear shoes with heel-coverings, and they were not allowed to wear shoes in the open *ārāma*. They were not allowed to use wooden shoes and foot-coverings which were made of *tālipat* leaves. They were not allowed to use shoes which were made of *tina*-grass, *muñha*-grass etc. They used three kinds of clogs which were fixed to the ground and they were privy-clogs, urinal-clogs and rinsing-clogs. They were not allowed to kill calves. They were allowed to use a palanquin, a sadan-chair. They should not use high and broad things to racline upon. They were not allowed to use large hides (skins): a lion's hide, a tiger's hide and a panther's hide. They were allowed to take their seats which were

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arranged by laymen, but they were not allowed to lie down on them. They should take bath regularly in all the border districts which were situated beyond *Mahāsala*, beyond the river Salalavatī, beyond the *brāhmaṇa* village called *Thūna* and beyond the mountain slope called Usīradhaja. They were allowed to use Sandals with many linings in all the border districts.

The *Mahāvagga*[34] refers to five medicines which were allowed to be used by the monks at the right time and also at other times. The five medicines were ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses. They were permitted to make use of tallows (fat) of bears, fish, alligators, swine and denkeya as medicines if accepted at right time, cooked at a right time and mixed at a right time with oil. They were allowed, if there was a reason, to make use of roots as medicines: turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, garlic, black hellebore, *khuskhus*, nut-grass, *usira* root, *bhaddamuttaka*. They were permitted, if there was a reason, to make use astringent decoctions as medicines: the *nimba* tree, *pakkava*, *nattamāla*, *kuṭaja* etc. They were allowed to make use of leaves as medicines: *nimba*-leaves, *kuṭaja*-leaves, cucumber-leaves, basil-leaves, cotton-tree-leaves etc. They were allowed, if there was a reason, to make use of fruits as medicines: *Vilaṅga*, pepper, black pepper, yellow myrobalan, baleric myrobalan, *emblic myrobalan*, *goṭha* fruit etc. They were permitted, if there was a reason, to make use of resins as medicines: *hiṅgu*, *hiṅgu*-resin, *hiṅgu*-gum, gum gum-*patti*, gum-*paṇṇī* etc. They were allowed, if there was a reason, to make use of salts as medicines: sea-salt, black salt, rock-salt, red-salt, culinary-salt etc. They were permitted to make use of raw flesh and raw blood in case of disease. They were allowed to make use of eye ointments and ointment- powders — black collyrium, *rssa*-ointment, *sota*-ointment, yellow ochre, lamp-black, sandal-wood, rosebay, black gum, *talisa*, nut-grass etc. They were permitted to make use of a little oil on the head, use of double bag and a decoction of oil. They were allowed to take medicine through the nose. They were permitted to make use of three kinds of vessels: a copper vessel, a wooden vessel and a vessel made of the shells of fruits. They were allowed to use hot water baths with the medicinal herbs. They were permitted to make use of artificial and natural juice. They were allowed to cook indoors. They should not have lancing done within a distance of two finger-breadths of the private parts nor a clyster-treatment. They were not permitted to eat elephant's flesh, dog's flesh,

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serpent's flesh, lion's flesh and hyena's flesh. They were allowed to take rice-milk and honey-lumps.

The *Mahāvagga*[35] describes the dress of the monks. It deals with the *kaṭhina*-cloth and the *kaṭhina* ceremonies. When the *kaṭhina*-cloths were made, then five things were allowable: without permission the monks went to families for alms, took a walk for alms without the three robes, a group meal, as many robes as one required , and whatever robe- material brought there, that was for them. *Kaṭhina*-cloth was made when it was unsoiled, when it was made out of pieces of cloth, when it was made out of rag-robes, and when it was made out of bits picked up near a shop. *Kaṭhina*-cloth was made when there was no insinuation, when there was no roundabout talking, when it was not temporary, when there was no postponement, when it was not to be abandoned, when it was made allowable,when there was the outer clock, when there was the upper-robe, when there was the inner robe, when five parts or more than five parts were cut out and were hemmed together on that same day. *Kaṭhina*-cloth was not made by marking it, by washing it, by calculating the robes, by cutting it, by tacking it, by making the lengths, by marking with a piece of cloth, by stregthening the work, by making a braiding, by making a binding, by patching, by dyeing the garment etc.

From the *Mahāvagga*[36] we learn that the monks were allowed to make use of a mante, silk mantle, and woollen stuff. They were permitted to use six kinds of robe-materials: linen, cotton, silk, wool, coarse, hempen cloth and canvas. They were allowed to make use of six kinds of dyes: dye from roots, dye from stems, dye from bark, dye from leaves, dye from flowers and dye from fruits. They were allowed to use a little dye-pot in which to boil the dye, to arrange a basin to prevent the dye from spilling, and to put a rop into water or on to the back of nail. They were permitted to make use of a trough for the dye. They were allowed to use an under-robe of torn pieces, an upper robe of torn pieces and a waist cloth of torn pieces. They were permitted to use three kinds of robes: a double outer cloak, a single upper robe and a single inner robe. They were allowed to use garments for the rainy season, a piece of cloth to sit upon, an itch-cloth when they had the itch and a cloth for wiping the faces.

The *Mahāvagga*[37] then discusses the validity and invalidity of formal acts of the *Saṅgha*. When an act was unlawful and was

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performed by an incomplete congregation, such act is mentioned as objectionable and invalid because of its unlawfulness and incompleteness of the congregation. The monks were allowed to carry out formal acts by rule in a complete assembly. The *Mahāvagga*[38] refers to six formal acts: "a formal act carried out not by rule, a formal act carried out in an incomplete assembly, a formal act carried out in a complete assembly, a formal act carried out by what has the appearance of rule in an incomplete assembly, a formal act carried out by what has the appearance of rule in a complete assembly, a formal act carried out by rule in a complete assembly". The *Mahāvagga*[39] deals with schisms of the Buddhist *Saṅgha.*

(II) The *Cullavagga*[40]

The Cullavagga is known as the smaller division. It discusses disciplinary proceedings, different offences and expiations, settlement of disputes among the fraternity, the rules of conduct of the monks and nuns, the daily life of the monks, residences, furnitures, duties of monks towards one another and the exclusion from the *Pātimokkha* ceremony. It mentions the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika's gift of the Jetavana to the *Saṅgha* and the first schism in the *Saṅgha* by Devadatta, who was the Buddha's enemy. It describes the formation of the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha* (Order of the Nuns) at the request of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the step-mother of the Buddha. It refers to the duties of the nuns. Its eleventh and the twelfth chapters give us an account of the first two councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī. It has twelve chapters: *Kammakkhandhaka, Parivbāsikakkhandhaka, Samuccayakkhandhaka, Samathakkhandhaka, Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka, Senāsanakkhandhaka, Saṅghabhedakkhandhaka, Vattakkhandhaka, Pātimokkhaṭṭhapanakkhandhaka, Bhikkhuṇikkhandhaka, Pañcassatikakkhandhaka* and *Sattasatikakkhandhaka.* According to some scholars, it is called the *Cullavagga* because its chapters are lesser in size. But others think that it has different spurious parts and that is why it is called the *Cullavagga.* Some scholars opine that the last two sections are later additions and they can be mentioned as an appendix to the *Cullavagga.*

The *Cullavagga* can be mentioned as a continuation of the *Mahāvagga.* Its first four chapters deal with different punishments mentioned in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* and refer to instructions relating

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to the behaviour of the monks when they are under punishment. Its fifth chapter gives an account of several directions relating to baths, the monk's begging bowls, scissors and needles, girdles, latrines, urinals, slings to carry bowls, shoes, hair-cutting etc. It is not good for the monks to sing the *gāthās* aloud, or to show the power of miracles if they have any, and it is good to turn down their bowls at the houses of laymen who are not at all respectful to the *Triratana*. The sixth chapter describes monasteries fitted with doors, windows and other necessary adjuncts built by the laity for the use of the monks of the four quarters. A monk called Navakammika supervised the construction of the monasteries. These monasteries had seats and beds of an austere type. This chapter refers to the story of the gift of the Jetavana monastery and mentions Anāthapiṇḍika's meeting with the Buddha at Rājagaha and became a follower of the Buddha. The seventh chapter discusses the dissensions which nearly broke out within the *Saṅgha* during the Buddha's life-time. Devadatta, who was a relative of the Buddha, was the leader of the dissentient monks. Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Śākyarāja, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila and Devadatta belonged to the Śākya families and they became devotees of the Buddha. The eighth chapter says that the resident monks of a monastery are instructed how to receive monks from other places or forests and to look after their comforts. The tenth chapter gives the story of the formation of Order of nuns at the request of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. At first the Buddha did not give her permission to form the order of nuns, but at thes request of Ānanda he gave permission for the formation of the order of nuns and imposed eight rules on the nuns. This chapter gives detailed instructions to check the frivolities of the female sex regarding dress, toilet, beds, seats etc. The last two chapters describe the first two councils which were held at *Sattapaṇṇiguhā* of Rājagaha and *Vālikārāma* of Vesālī. The first council was presided by Mahākassapa. Ānanda took the responsibility of reciting the discourses delivered by the Buddha and Upāli took the responsibility of reciting the disciplinary rules framed by the Buddha. In general the monks accepted the compilation with a few exceptions. The second council was held after one hundred years. Its only purpose was to suppress the allegations which were brought by the *Vajjiputtaka* monks of Vesālī. But a committee of eight monks declared that the deviations were illegal. But all the monks did not accept the committee's decision and a new sect

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which became known as the *Mahāsaṅghika* appeared.

In the *Culavagga*[41] there are 12 cases of proceeding (*kamma*) which is against the law and 12 cases of a proceeding which is according to the law. It refers to six cases of *Tajjaniya Kamma* (act of rebuke) which are permissible when the *Tajjaniya Kamma* has been carried out against a monk, then it is his duty to behave himself a right, to confer *Upasampadā*, Ordination, not to accept a *sāmaṇera* or a novice, not to take the office of giving instruction to the nuns and when he was taken the office he should not instruct the nuns. The *Cullavagga* gives an account of eighteen duties which follow on a *Tajjaniya Kamma*. It spekes of eighteen cases in which there is no chance of revocation of the *Tajjaniya Kamma* and also of eighteen cases in which there is a revocation of the *Tajjaniya Kamma*.

The *Saṅgha*[42] applied the *Pabbājaniya Kamma* (act of excommunication) to the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu and they were not allowed to stay on the Kiṭā Hill.

The *Saṅgha*[43] has carried out the *Pabbājaniya Kamma* against three kinds of monks: one who is frivolous in action, in speech and both in action and in speech.

The *Cullavagga*[44] mentions *Paṭisāraṇiya Kamma* or the acts of reconciliation. "The *Paṭisāraṇiya Kamma* has been carried out against the monk Sudhamma with the words, "you are to ask and obtain pardon of *citta*, the householder". The *Saṅgha* agrees with the motion. The *Saṅgha* can carry out the *paṭisāraṇiya kamma* against five kinds of monks.

The *Cullavagga*[45] describes acts of suspension for not acknowledging an offence and for not atoning for an offence. Channa, who was a monk did not acknowledge a fault (offence) and for this reason the *ukkhepaniya kamma* (act of suspension) was carried out by the *Saṅgha* against them.

The *Cullavagga*[46] refers to three kinds of interruption of the probationary period of a monk who is under probation. This monk goes to another monk and placing his robe on one shoulder and squatting down on his heels and pray to him, "I take my probation again upon himself". Then probation begins. Then another monk states "I take the duties of a probation upon myself again". Then also the probation is resumed.

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A meeting of four monks takes place and one of them is a probationer. If this meeting places a monk on probation or keeps him back to the beginning of his probationary course, or places him to the *mānatta* discipline, that is an invalid act.[47] A meeting of twenty monks takes place and one of them is a probationer. If this meeting rehabilitates a monk, then it is also on invalid act, and there is no need to obey it.

The monks follow three *Kammavācās*:[48] one for the throwing back, one for the inclusive probation and one for the new *mānatta*.

The *Cullavagga*[49] refers to proceedings on the breach of the first *Saṅghādisesa*. The *Saṅgha* places a monk on probation for a further month for those two *Saṅghādisesa* offences which were concealed for two months. If a monk, who is on probation, is a *sāmaṇera*, then, in his case, there is no probation. Because he is a *sāmaṇera*.

The *Cullavagga* mentions 36 cases of fresh offences which were commited whilst under probation.[50]

It a monk who is on probation is guilty of several *Saṅghādisesa* offences and he conceals them and throws off the robes, and he, when he has again obtained the *Upasampadā* ordination, tells these offences, then it is the duty of the *Saṅgha* to give him punishment, i.e., to place him again on probation and "an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him corresponding to the period which has elapsed since the first offence among those offences which he has concealed".[51]

There are nine cases in which a monk by probation has not attained the stage of purification.[52]

The monks[53] who were present in the *Saṅgha* could not settle the disputed question and they quarrelled among themselves. Then they were permitted to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority.

There are four types of legal questions[54] which appear from disputes, cansure, offences and business. They require formal settlement by the *Saṅgha*.

A monk,[55] who has ten qualities, is appointed by the monks on the jury. The secret method, the whispering method and the open method are mentioned as three ways of taking votes. A monk who

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is regarded as the teller of the votes makes the voting tickets of different colours and when monks come to him one by one he tells him thus, "This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like". When he has selected one then he will say to him, "Don't show it to anybody". If he knows that those monks who have given their votes are against the *dhamma* and they have got the majority, but, even then, he has every right to reject the votes because they have given their votes in a wrong way. If he is quite sure that those monks who have given their votes are in accordance with the *Dhamma* and they have got the majority, then he gives his report that they have given their votes in a proper way. This is mentioned as the secret method of taking the votes.

A monk[56] who is the teller of the votes whispers in each monk's ear, "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like". When he has selected then he says to him, "Don't tell anybody (which way you have voted)". If he thinks that those monks who have given their votes are against the *dhamma* and if they have got the majority, but, even then, he has right to reject the votes because the votes were taken in a wrong way. If he is quite sure that those monks who have given their votes are in accordance with the *dhamma* and they have got the majority, then he gives his report that the votes were taken in a proper way. This can be mentioned as he whispering methed of taking the votes.

If a monk[57] thinks (beforehand) that those who have given their votes are in accordance with the *dhamma* and they have got the majority, then "the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly". This can be mentioned as the open method of taking the votes.

The monks[58] are not allowed to wear long hair and to use comb in order to smooth the hair. They can do the ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand. They are not allowed to look at the image of their faces in a looking-glass or a bowl of water, but they can do so only when they are ill. They are not allowed to anoint their faces, to rubointment into their faces, to go to places to see dancing, or singing, or music, and to use wollen cloth with long fleece to it, and to put away their bowls with water in them. They can dry their bowls in a warm place for a short time and then he can put them away. They are permitted to make use of a mat which is made of grass, of a small cloth, and of bags to carry their

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bowls in. They cannot keep their bowls on the bed or on a chair, on their laps and on a sunshade. It is not good for the monks to open the door with their bowls in their hands. They are permitted to take the use of a blade and of sheath made of felt, needles, needle-case made of bamboo, a grass-mat, false threads and a box or drawer in the workshop. They are permitted to line the basement of a hall or a shed with facing of three kinds — brick facing, stone facing and wooden facing. They can use stairs of three kinds — brick stairs, stone stairs and wooden stairs and can also use a balustrade. They are allowed to give a railing for the cloister, to face round the lower half of the wall with bricks, to use a chimney, and to the use of clay to spread over the faces, if they see that their faces are scorched. They can use a trough to moisten the clay in. Brick flooring, stone flooring and wooden flooring are three types permitted. They are allowed to use a drain to carry off the water, stools for the bathroom and to enclose the bathroom with three kinds of enclosures — brick walls, stone walls and wooden fences. They can construct an antechamber in the bathroom and also they can outlet in the antechamber of the bathroom. They can use brass pots, wooden pots and skins as water vessels. They are permitted to use a towel and a cloth in order to wipe the water off. They can use a stand for the bowl. They are permitted to make use of small jars and brooms, fans and flower-stands and mosquito-fans. They can cut their nails according to the length of the flesh. They are permitted to make use of razors, of a stone to sharpen the razors on, of powder propared with *sipātika-gum* to prevent them rusting, of a sheath to hold them in and of a barber's apparatus. They are not allowed to cut their boards by barbers to grow them long and to wear them long on the chin like a goat's board. They can use an instrument to remove the wax from the ear. They can also use a loom and shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus of a loom. They cannot wear their under-garments and upper-garments like laymen. They are allowed to use tooth-sticks from finger-breadths long, and to eat onions when they are ill. They cannot follow manifold evil practices. They are allowed to use abodes of five kinds which are *vihāras*, *addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics and caves. They can use bedsteads which are made of laths of split bamboo. They are permitted to make use of a rectangular chair, an arm-chair, a sofa, a sofa with arms to it, a state-chair, a cushioned chair, a chair raised on a pedestal, a chair with many

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legs, a board (to recline on), a cane-bottomed chair, and a straw-bottomed chair. They can use supports to bedsteads. They are allowed to use pillows half the size of a man's head and bolsters of five kinds. They are permitted to use in the *vihāras* of whitewash, black colouring and red colouring and curtains. They are allowed to make chambers in shape like a palankeen, chambers in shape like a quart measure, chambers on an upper storey, pins in the wall and bone hooks, verandahs, covered terraces, inner verandhas and overhanging caves, a service hall, a water-room and a watershed. They are told that paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation, proper respect and apportionment of the best seat and water and food shall be according to seniority. It is to be noted here that property belonging to the *Saṅgha* cannot appropriate exclusively according to seniority. The monks take their seats which are arranged by laymen, but cannot take their seats on large cushions, *divans* and mattresses. They cannot lie down upon them. They are allowed to appoint a monk who has five qualifications as an apportioner of lodging places. They can use stuffed couches after having broken off the legs. There are rules to authorise the fraternity to place a *vihāra* in charge of an individual monk temporarily while it is under construction. The monks are permitted to barter either of these things in order to increase the stock of legally permissible furniture. They are allowed to appoint a monk to distribute ledging places.

From the *Cullavagga*[59] we learn that the monks have some duties towards one another. "If the resident monk be senior, he ought to be saluted; if junior he ought to be made to salute (the incomer). If a *vihāra* be unoccupied, he ought to knock at the door, then to wait a minute, then to undo the belt, and open the door and then still standing outside, to look within". If there are cobwebs in the *vihāra*, then the monks can use cloth in order to remove them. If they find dust in the cell or in the storeroom or in the refectory or in the room where the fire is kept or in the privy, then it is their duty to clean it and to sweep it. If there is no drinking water or water for washing, then it is their duty to arrange it. If there is no water in the rinsing pot, then it is their duty to pour in. The monks are permitted to leave the hall, if necessary, after telling the monk who has taken his seat immediately next. They are permitted to recite the*Pātimokkha* to the monks and to tell nuns how to recite the *Pātimokkha*. It is their duty to tell nuns

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how they should confess their faults. They are permitted to receive the confession of a fault from nuns. A nun is not allowed to wear robes which are all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, black, brownish-yellow or dark-yellow colour.

A nun cannot assault a monk.[60]

The monks are allowed to take seats according to seniority.[61]

The monks[62] can use a carriage which is given to a sick nun. A nun cannot take the forest life. The monks can use a stable. Nuns are allowed to live in a separate residence. Certain places are mentioned to live into individual members of the *Saṅgha*. Nuns are not allowed to bathe in a steam bath. A nun is not permitted to bathe at a place which is not a common bathing place. She is not allowed to bathe at a bathing place which is used by men, an is not permitted to bathe against the stream.

Nuns and *therīs*[63] became free from all sorts of punishments for any offence which they have committed before they joined the *Saṅgha*. A *Licchavi* wife once committed adultery and her husband wanted to kill her and in order to escape from her husband she then became a nun in Sāvatthī. Her husband saw her as nun in Sāvatthī and then he reported it to King Pasenadi of Kosala. Then the latter told him that it was not possible for him to give her any punishment because she was a nun.

The Buddha imposed eight conditions on a woman for entering the order of nuns. The eight important rules (*garudhamma*) on the nuns are:[64]

(1) A nun even of a hundred year's standing shall pay respects and rise up before him, even if he is only just ordained.

(2) A nun shall not spend Retreat in a place where there is no monk.

(3) Every half month a nun shall ask the date of the *Uposatha* ceremony and the time when the monks will come to give admonition from the *bhikkhusaṅgha*.

(4) After Retreat the nuns will hold the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony in the assemblies of the monks and of the nuns.

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(5) Both the assemblies, i.e., the assemblies of the monks and of the nuns will deal with certain offences committed by nuns.

(6) A nun, who has learnt six precepts for two years, shall ask for *Upasampadā* from both the *Bhikkhu Saṅgha* and the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha.*

(7) A nun must not rebuke or say anything against a monk on any pretext.

(8) A nun is not allowed to talk with a monk, but a monk is permitted to give instructions to a nun.

There are rules for the guidance of the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha.* They are:[65]

(1) A nun is not allowed to collect more than one alms bowl in a *vihāra.*

(2) A nun asks for a thing from any *upāsaka* or *upāsikā* and she is not allowed to take it in exchange for another thing.

(3) When a thing is offered to a nun for a purpose, then that thing can be used by a nun for that purpose only.

(4) A nun is not allowed to ask for anything, the value of which is more than 16 *kahāpaṇas* from any person, although the person is allowed to request her to ask for something from him.

(5) A nun is not allowed to take any white onion.

(6) A nun is not allowed to accept paddy.

(7) A nun must not throw impurities on the road through the window and also in the field.

(8) A nun is not allowed to attend to dancing, singing and instrumental music.

(9) A nun is not allowed to talk with any person alone in the dark.

(10) A nun is not allowed to sit and talk with any man in a covered place.

(11) A nun cannot do so even in moonlight by taking her seat

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on the meadow when there are no other persons.

(12) A nun is not allowed to talk with any man alone in the public street or cross roads where there are crows.

(13) A nun must not go away from the houses where she daily takes her food without the permission of the head of the house.

(14) A nun is not allowed to sit or lie down in a house where she goes in the afternoon without getting permission from the head of the house.

(15) A nun must not curse anybody.

(16) A nun is not allowed to take her bath being naked.

(17) Two nuns are not allowed to lie on the same bed and they must not cover their bodies with the same covering.

(18) When a nun is ill, it is the duty of the companion nun to nurse her or helps others to nurse her.

(19) A nun must not drive out or cause to be driven out another nun to whom she has given shelter.

(20) A nun is not permitted to associate herself with a householder or son of a householder.

(21) A nun is allowed to take walk with weapons within her own country in times of fear of robbers, dacoits and other wicked persons.

(22) A nun cannot travel from place to place during the Retreat or lent.

(23) A nun cannot stay in the *vihāra* after Retreat.

(24) A nun should not go to see a palace, royal-garden, picture-gallery, pleasure-garden, garden-tank with flowers.

(25) A nun should not enjoy a valuable couch or a beautiful bedstead.

(26) A nun is not allowed to serve a householder.

(27) A nun cannot offer food with her own hands to a householder, a *paribbājaka* or a *paribbājikā*.

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(28) A nun is not allowed to leave her dwelling place without placing any other nun in charge of it.

(29) A nun cannot learn any art for her livelihood.

(30) A nun is not allowed to teach any art to anybody.

(31) A nun is not allowed to enter any hermitage where a monk lives not having taken the necessary permission.

(32) A nun cannot rebuke a monk.

(33) A nun cannot take food beforehand when invited to take food in another's place.

(34) A nun cannot have any attachment to any particular family.

(35) A nun is not allowed to spend the Retreat in a hermitage where there is no monk.

(36) A nun is permitted to go to take instructions from a monk.

(37) A nun is not allowed to make any female her disciple who has not got her parent's permission to give up household life.

(38) A nun is not allowed to go in a conveyance when fit.

(39) A nun cannot use ornaments and cannot take bath in perfumed water.

(40) A nun without a monk's permission cannot take her seat in the presence of a monk.

(41) A nun is not allowed to ask any question without taking the monk's permission.

(42) A nun is not allowed to go out alone at night.

(43) The nuns must learn the precepts which are common to the monks and nuns and the nuns must learn the precepts which are specially meant for the nuns.

(44) The nuns must not touch the bodies of laymen wilfully. They are not allowed to touch the bodies of the monks with lustful thoughts.

(45) In all assemblies where a *sāmaṇerī* or a nun goes, and also in the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony, there is no recitation of the *Pātimokkha*.

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From the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[66] we learn that a robe once given to a nun should not be taken back.

The monks should not salute the nuns.[67]

The nuns are not allowed to help a nun who is excommunicated by the *Saṅgha.*[68]

When a nun knowingly hides any other nun's *Pārājika* offence, then she is guilty of the *Pārājika* offence.[69]

When a nun tries to follow a monk who is excommunicated by the *Bhikkhusaṅgha*, then she is guilty of the *Parājika* offence.[70]

A nun is not allowed to bring any suit against any householder's or householder's son, slave, employee, even *samaṇa* or *paribbājaka.* If she brings any suit, then she is guilty of the *Saṅghādisesa* offence.[71]

If a person with evil motive gives presents to a nun and if she knows his motive and accepts them, the nun will be guilty of *Saṅghādisesa* offence.[72]

The Buddha made a prediction on the effect of the admittance of women into the *Saṅgha.* He told,[73] "If, Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the *Tathāgata*, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have now received that permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not now last long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years. Just, Ānanda, as houses in which there are many women, and but few men are easily violated by robbers or burglars, just so Ānanda, under whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go out from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called mildew falls upon a field of rice in fine condition that field of rice does not continue long; just so, Ānanda, under whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the housefold life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called blight falls upon a field of sugarcane in good condition, that field of sugarcane does not continue long; just so, Ānanda, under whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just,

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Ānanda, as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, beyond which the water should not overpass; just even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation laid down eight rules for the *bhikkhuṇīs*, their life long not to be overpassed".

The Buddha's prediction became true when troubles broke put in the *Saṅgha*. Because the monks and the nuns and, the nuns and the lay people used to hold meetings frequently. Then the troubles started in the *Saṅgha*.

THE *PARIVĀRA* OR THE *PARIVĀRAPĀṬHA*

The *Parivārapāṭha*[74] is known as the concluding text of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. It was written much later than the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*. It is a digest of other parts of the *Vinaya*. It has nineteen chapters. It can be mentioned as a manual of instruction in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. It is regarded as "a short manual comprising a short of catechism on the whole *Vinaya* arranged for the instruction". It is a mnemonic manual for the use of the monks. Its aim is to assist the monks not only to remember the rules but also to be aware of the facts and circumstances which help a monk to bring within the framework of the rules.[75] It is an appendix to the *Vinaya*. It informs us nothing new. It is only an abridgement of the *Vinaya* texts. But, even then, it occupies an important place in the history of Pāli literature. Because it contributes much to the study of the *Vinaya* literature. It is like a key which unlocks the subject-matter of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*. Most probably it was composed in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) by a monk Dīpa. The *Parivārapāṭha* describes that it was composed by "the highly wise, learned, and skilful Dīpa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods (literally the way) followed by former teachers". "*Pubbācariyamaggaṁ ca pucchitvā va tahiṁ Dīpa nāma mahāaññā sutadhare vicakkhane imaṁ vitthārassaṁkhepaṁ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāposi sissapānaṁ sukhāvahaṁ*" In a verse towords the close of the *Parivārsa* it is mentioned that *Dīpa* composed *it after making investigations about the path followed by the respectable persons who belonged to the earlier period. In an introductory verse of the Parivārapāṭha* there is a description of Mahinda in Sri Lanka. It also refers to certain noted *theras* like Ariṭṭha who was the sister's son of Devānaṁpiya-Tissa, the king of Sri Lanka. Its first chapter gives an account of the *Vinayadharas* (masters of discipline). This list is important no doubt in the history of the Buddhist *Saṅghas*

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of India and Sri Lanka. M. Winternitz says, "It is very similar to the *Anukramaṇis* and *Pariśiṣṭas*of the *Veda* and the *Vedāṅga* texts."[76]

I.B. Horner mentions the *Parivārapāṭha*. He syas,[77] "I have seen the *Parivāra* called "a digest of the entire *Vinay a Pi ṭakā*, setting forth the method of teaching the *Vinaya*. Indeed to provide a manual for instructors and students may well have been a reason for its compilation". He describes further,[70] "It seems to me that the only way in which it can be truly regarded as an "abstract" of these other parts is that they are its source and its subject-matter, so huge that part of its purpose is to reduce them to manageable proportions. Though it has one or two parts of its own to add, chiefly in the way of emphasis, and employs a relatively few number of words not found in them, one of the *parivāra's* chief methods is thus reducing the *Vinaya*, would appear to be drawing up categories and classifications, and bringing forward matters that, though occurring in these other parts, still might remain somewhat hidden and be overlooked simply because they are not organised and collected there. It must have seemed important to the *Parivāra* compiler to gather all these matters together so as to give them the full weight due to them".

The word "*pari*" is "all round, surrounding" and the word "*vāra*" means "time, opportunity".[79] In Sanskrit the word "*vāra*" means "anything which covers or surrounds, a cover, a multitude, quantity" and "a cover, covering, surroundings —".[80] Thus the *Parivāra* covers, surrounds, encircles or encompasses the various matters mentioned in the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*. It "encompasses the Dispensation as the ocean encompasses or surrounds India".[81] I.B.Horner[82] states, "— it covers the Discipline by encomfassing it, going all round it and all through it, discarding matters of less consequence in the process, and coming down to the brake rock, the dry bones. Yet, even without a single story and without any human seasoning or hint of contemporary manners and customs, how far from dry is this bony skeleton that so carefully displays the structure of the *Vinaya* which, as the *āyu* of the Buddha *sāsana*, is its life-giver and source of vitality".

References

1. *HPL*, I, pp. 43 ff.
2. *ER*. Vol. 2, pp. 511-12.
3. *DPL*, p. 575.

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4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *HPL*, I, p. 45.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 45-46; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures, Buddhism, its history and its literature*, pp. 53-54.
10. *Ibid.*, I, p. 46.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *HIL*, II, p. 24.
13. *HPL*, I, pp. 61-62.
14. The five parts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* are (1) The *Suttvibhaṅga* which has. (i) the *Mahāvibhaṅga* and (ii) the *Bhikkhuṇivibhaṅga*. (2) The *Khandhakas* consist of (i) the *Mahāvagga* and (ii) the *Cullavagga*. And (3) the *Parivārapāṭha* or the *Parivāra*.
15. *HPL*, I, p. 47.
16. Bapat, p. 146.
17. *HPL*, I, pp. 49-50.
18. *Ibid.*, I, p. 50.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, I, p. 51.
21. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 52-54.
22. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 54 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, I, p. 58.
24. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 58 ff.
25. *Ibid.*, I, p. 60.
26. *Ibid.*, I, p. 61.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *BD*, IV, pp. 1 ff.
29. The ten rules are: (1) abstaining from taking life, (2) abstaining from taking what is not given, (3) abstaining from unchastity, (4) abstaining from speaking falschood, (5) abstaining from taking spirituous liquors, (6) abstaining from eating in the afternoon, (7) abstaining from seeing ahows of dancing, singing and music, (8) abtaining from the occasion of using garlands, scents, flowers etc., (9) obstaining from using high beds and large beds and (10) abstaining from accepting gold and silver.
30. The four great resources are: *Piṇḍiyālopabhojanaṃ*, i.e., he monks should only live on the food they obtain by begging. These extra acquisitions — a meal for a *Saṅgha*, a meal for a special person, an invitation, ticket-food on a special day, on an observance day and on the day after an observance day. (2) *Paṃsukulacivaraṃ* i.e., the monks should wear only those robes which were made out of rags thrown away by laymen. These extra acquisitions — robes thrown away by laymen. These care extra acquisitions — robes made of linen, cotton, silk, wool, course hemp and canvas. (3) *Rukkhamūlasenāsenaṃ* i.e., the monks should endeavour to live

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in open space under trees. These are extra acquistions — a dwelling place, a curved house, a long house, a mansion and a cave. (4) *Pūtimuttabhesajjaṃ* i.e., the monks should only use urine (of cows) as medicine during the time of their illness. These are extra acquisitions — ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey and molasses

31. *BD*, IV, pp. 130 ff.
32. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 183 ff; *HPL*, I, p. 63.
33. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 236 ff; *Ibid.*, I, p. 63.
34. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 270 ff; *Ibid.*, I, p. 64.
35. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 352 ff; *Ibid.*, I, p. 64.
36. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 397 ff; *Ibid.*, I, p. 65.
37. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 450 ff; *Ibid.*, I, p. 65.
38. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 454.
39. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 483 ff; *HPL*, I, p. 65.
40. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65 ff.
41. *Ibid.*, I, p. 66.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, I, p. 67.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, I, p. 68.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 68-69.
56. *Ibid.*, I, p. 69.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 69-72.
59. *Ibid.*, I, p. 72.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, I, p. 73.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 73-74.
65. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 74 ff.
66. *Ibid.*, I, p. 76.
67. *Ibid.*, I, p. 77.

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68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 77-78; *Vinaya Texts*, *SBE*, III, pp. 325-26.
74. *Ibid.*, I, p. 78.
75. Bapat, p. 144.
76. *HPL*, I, p. 78; *Vinaya piṭaka*, V, p. 226.
77. *HIL*. II, p. 33.
78. *BD*, VI, p. x.
79. *Ibid.*, VI, p. vii.
80. *Ibid.*,
81. *Ibid.*, VI, p. xi.
82. *Ibid.*, VI, p. viii.

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5

The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* Texts

Structure and Organization

THE *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*[1] or "the Basket of higher expositions" is the third division of the *Tipiṭaka.* According to Childers, it is "Basket of Transcendental Doctrine".[2] From the Pāli tradition[3] we learn that the Buddha first delivered the *Abhidhamma* to the *Tāvatiṁsa* gods. At that time he was living with them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Paricchattaka tree in the *Tāvatiṁsa* heaven during his visit to his mother there. He then preached it to Sāriputta who very often used to meet the Buddha when he for meals came down to the Mānasasoravara. Then Bhaddaji got it from Sāriputta. Revata and others then received it through a succession of disciples. It took its final form in the third council which was held during the reign of Aśoka, the Maurya ruler. Ven. Nārada Mahāthera describes,[4] "the origin of the *Abhidhamma,* according to the tradition, is the Buddha himself. The Buddha as a mark of gratitude to his mother who was born in Tusita Realm repaired thither and preached the *Abhidhamma* to the mother Deva and others for three months. The topics (*Mātikā*) of the discourses were later rehearsed to the Venerable Sāriputta who subsequently elaborated them and composed the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*". According to the Kashmirian *Vaibhāṣikas,* the Buddha gave his sermons to different persons at different places and at different times. Afterwards the *Arahats* (*Arhats*) and the *Śrāvakas* collected them and they then arranged them into *Abhidhamma* treatises.[5] The Buddhists believe that the *suttas* were composed on observing the faces of the people while the *Abhidhamma* was compiled on observing the *suttas.* From it we

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conclude that the *Abhidhamma* was composed on the basis of the *suttas*. Thus we can say here that the *suttas* give the foundation of the *Abhidhamma*. The *Abhidhamma* deals with the same subject as the *Sutta Piṭaka*. But its treatment is more scholastic than the latter. Like a catechism it is compiled in the form of questions and answers. G.P. Malalasekera says, "As far as the contents of the *Abhidhamma* are concerned, they do not form a systematic philosophy, but are a special treatment of the *Dhamma* as found in the *Sutta Piṭaka*. Most of the matter is psychological and logical; the fundamental doctrines mentioned or discussed are those already propounded in the *Sutta*, and therefore taken for granted".[6] Ven. Nyanaponika Mahāthera states,[7] "The *Abhidhamma* may be regarded as a systematisation of the doctrines contained, or implied, in the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It formulates these *Sutta* doctrines in strictly philosophical (*paramattha*) or truly realistic (*yathabhuta*) language; a language that employs as far as possible terms of a function or processual character, without any of the conventional (*vohāra*) and unrealistic concepts donating a personality, an agent (as different from the act), a substance, etc." He mentions further[8] "The *Suttas*, serving mainly the purpose of offering guidance for the actual daily life of the disciple, are mostly (though not entirely) coached in terms of conventional language (*vohāra*), making reference to persons, their qualities, possessions etc. In the *Abhidhamma*, these *Sutta* terms are reduced to correct, functional forms of thought which accord with the true "impersonal" and ever changing nature of actuality; and in that strict, or highest sense the main tenets of the *Dhamma* are explained." In the *Abhidhamma* treatises we first see the *mātikas* or the *uddesas* and then come the *niddesas*. The ideas are arranged in outline and there are also synonyms. It is to be mentioned here that the ideas are arranged in such a way that in some places it is difficult for the readers to get its real meaning.

Ven. Nyanaponika Mahāthera gives an account of the *Abhidhamma*. He says[9] "the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, or the Philosophical Collection forms the third great section of the Buddhist Pali canon (*Tipiṭaka*). In its most characteristic parts it is a system of classifications, analytical enumerations and definitions, without a discursive treatment of the subject-matter. Particularly its two most important books, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Patthāna*, appear like huge collections of systematically arranged tabulations, accompanied by definitions of the terms

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used in these tables. This is certainly a type of literature of which one will scarcely expect a high degree of popularity or appreciation. Yet there is the fact that the *Abhidhamma* was, and is highly esteemed, and even venerated, in the countries of *Theravāda* Buddhism, though this attitude was not always imply a true understanding of the teachings concerned. . . . In the 10th century A.C. on the order of a king of Ceylon, Kasspa V, the whole *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* was written on gold leaves and the copy of the first book, *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, was set with jewels. When the work was compiled the precious manuscripts were taken in a huge procession to a beautiful monastery, and deposited there. Another king, Vijayabāhu (11th century A.D.) early every morning, before he took up his royal duties used to study the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and engage in a translation of it into the Sinhalese language which however is not preserved to us". He describes further,[10] "According to the *Theravāda* tradition, the *Abhidhamma* is the domain proper of the Buddhas (Buddha-*visaya*), and its initial conception in the Master's mind ("*manasa desanā*" i.e., "exposition in mind", "*Atthasālini*") is traced to the time immediately after the Great Enlightenment. It was in the fourth week, of seven, spent by the Master in the environ of the *Bodhi* tree, that the *Abhidhamma* was conceived. These seven days were called, by the teachers of old "the week of the Houses of Gems" (*ratangharasattaha*). 'The House of Gems" is indeed a very fitting expression for the crystal-clear edifice of *Abhidhamma* thought in which the Buddha dwelt that period."

The Pali word *Abhidhamma* is composed of the prefix "*abhi*" and the term "*Dhamma*".[11] *Abhi* signifies great, exceeding (*atireka*), or subtle, noble, ultimate, ultra (*visittha*). Thus the *Abhihamma* means enlarged or subtle or ultimate doctrine.[12] It also means "higher religion". Ordinarily the word of the Buddha is known as the *Dhamma*. It is originated from the root *Dhara* to bear or to support.[13] From the commentaries we learn that the *Dhamma* is "that which upholds one from undesirable states".[14] This derivation is purely from a Buddhist ethical point of view.[15] In this sense the term *Dhamma* can be applied to the nine supramundane states (*Navalokuttara Dhamma*) which are the Four paths (*Magga*), the Four Fruits (*Phala*) and *Nibbāna*.[16] The Doctrine is known as the *Dhamma* because it helps one to realise these supremundane states.[17] The *Dhamma* is truth.[18] Ven. Nārada Mahāthera describes, "It is that which is. It is reality.

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Whether the Buddhas arise or not the *Dhamma* exists. It is a Buddha that reveals the *Dhamma* to the world. The *Dhamma* is treasured in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Basket of Discourses. As the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is more voluminous than the *Sutta Piṭaka* it is in one sence called *Abhidhamma*. In the *Sutta Piṭaka* is found the *Vohāra Desanā*, conventional teaching. Whilst in the *Abhidhamma* is found the *Paramattha Desanā*, Ultimate Doctrine. One often finds references to *Satta*, individual, being etc. In the *Sutta Piṭaka*, but in the *Abhidhamma* instead of such conventional terms we meet with *khandas*, aggregates etc. In the *Abhidhamma* everything is analysed and explained and as such it is known as the analytical doctrine".[19]

The *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* once refer to the term *Abhidhamma* with *Abhivinaya*.[20] Buddhaghosa, the great Pāli commentator, explains this terms as *Bodhipakkhiya Dhammas* or the factors leading to Enlightenment.[21]

R.C. Childers[22] mentions the term *Abhidhamma* as higher doctrine, transcendental doctrine, metaphysics. It implies metaphysical as opposed to moral doctrine (*dhamma*).[23] T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede[24] say that the term *Abhidhamma* is *abhi* and *dhamma* (*abhi+dhamma*). It means "special *dhamma*", i.e., theory of the doctrine, the doctrine classified, the doctrine pure and simple (without any admixture of literary grace or of personalities, or of anecdotes, or of arguments etc).

Dr. W.S. Karunaratne gives an account of the *Abhidhamma* (Skt. *Abhidharma*). He describes,[25] " The title given to the third (and last) collection or *Piṭaka* of the Buddhist canonical books; it is also a name for the specific method in which the *Dhamma* or doctrine is set forth in these books, the subject-matter thereof and the literature connected with it.

Both historically and logically, the *Abhidhamma* represents a development of the *Dhamma* or the doctrine of the Buddha. It enjoys equal canonical authority with the *Dhamma* and its texts have been compiled into a separate *Piṭaka*. Traditionally, the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is mentioned after the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It is probable that each of the early Buddhist schools had its own *Abhidhamma* texts if not a whole *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, but only two of them have handed down their complete *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Of these the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the *Sarvāstivādins* is

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preserved to us only in its Chinese and Tibetan translations. The *Theravādins*, who have actively flourished to the present-day in South-East Asia alone have been able to preserve their *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* in its original Pāli version.

The *Abhidhamma*, which expounds the word of the Buddha in terms of an ethical realism, is a philosophy with an essentially religious basis. Especially among the *Theravāda* Buddhists it is venerated as the finest flower of Buddhist philosophy, and both monks and laymen assiduously study and practise it throughout South-East Asia, more keenly in Burma than in any other country".

Kogen Mizuno also refers to the *Abhidhamma*. He states,[26] "There is reason to think that each of the early schools of sectarian Buddhism possessed at one time what corresponded to the *Tipiṭaka* of the *Theravādins*. In the Buddhist texts which now exist in Chinese translation, we find most of the triple texts of the *Sarvāstivāda* School. According to Hsuen-tsang's itinerary, he learnt the *Abhidhamma* of the *Sammitīya* school in the *Parvata* country, in north-west India and that of the *Mahāsaṅghika* at *Dhanakataka*, in southern India. And when he returned to China, he took with him the sacred Buddhist texts of various schools from India. They included 14 books of the *Theravāda*, 15 books belonging to the *Mahāsaṅghika*, 15 to the *Sammitīya*, 22 books to the *Mahiṃśāsaka*, 19 books of the *Kāśyapīya*, 42 books belonging to the *Dharmaguptaka* and 67 books of the *Sarvāstivāda*. Of these books what he translated were mainly the philosophical books of the *Sarvāstivāda;* all the others remained untranslated and the original texts have been lost. Again, according to the introductory remark prefaced to I-tsing's Travels on the South Seas (*Taisho*, 2125) there were in India at that time four schools (the *Mahāsaṅghika*, the *Sthaviravāda*, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* and the *Sammitīya*) which represented the eighteen schools, and all four of them had the *Tipiṭaka*). They consisted of either 300,000 or 200,000 verses.

In this case, what were called the *Tipiṭaka* of various schools were the funamental books. The commentaries and the manuals were, as a rule, excluded. As for the philosophical books, the fundamental philosophical books (*Mūla-abhidharma*) regarded as sacred were the seven, *Abhidhamma* books of Pāli Buddhism and the corresponding seven books of the *Sarvāstivāda*. The commen-

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taries, etc. of later production were not regarded as sacred literature. That was the proper arrangement and Pāli Buddhism followed it. As for the scriptures in Chinese translation, however, there is no such discriminatory arrangement. There we find that the commentaries and manuals, produced later than the fundamental books, and their sub-commentaries are equally ranked with philosphical texts (*Abhidharma-piṭaka*). Sometimes we find later schools of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, such as the *Yogācāra* school, using the name *Abhidhamma* for books belonging to the school, without consideration of their contents, e.g. the *Mahāyāna Abhidharma sūtra* or the *Mahāyāna-Abhidharma-samuccaya*".

Dr. W.S. Karunaratne gives the meaning of the word *Abhidhamma*. He mentions,[27] "The term "*Abhidhamma*" is a pre-positional compound formed out of "*abhi* " and "*dhamma*" and the fact clearly suggests that its origin and emergence are subsequent to that of *Dhamma*. The term has obviously been coined to indicate a difference between what it devotes and the *Dhamma*. According to the commentator Buddhaghosa, *abhi* when prefixed to *dhamma* conveys the sense of "supplementary *Dhamma*", and "special *Dhamma*".[28] This well accords with what we know about the nature and character of the *Abhidhamma* texts. Tradition itself has recognised a distinction in style between the *Dhamma* and the *Abhidhamma* (*Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 366). Thus, the *suttas* embodying the *Dhamma* are said to be taught in the discursive style (*sappariyaya desana*) which makes free use of the simile, the metaphor and the anecdote. This is contrasted with the non-discursive style (*nippariyāya-desanā*) of the *Abhidhamma* which uses a very select and precise, and therefore thoroughly impersonal, terminology which is decidedly technical in meaning and function. The same distinction is clearly implied in the separate mention of the two modes, *Suttanta-pariyāya* and *Abhidhamma-pariyāya*.[29] Buddhaghosa tells[30] us how tradition recognised the distinctive character of each *Piṭaka*. The *Vinaya* is the discourse on injunctions (*āṇā-desanā*); the *sutta* is the popular discourse (*vohāra-desanā*), while the *Abhidhamma* is the discourse on ultimate truths (*paramattha-desanā*). The term *Abhidhamma* used both as a neuter[31] and as a masculine,[32] is already attested in the *Vinaya*,[33] and in the *Nikāyas*[34] and much more frequently in the post canonical works.[35] In its earlier usage, it refers largely to the subject-matter of the special doctrine and

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sometimes possibly to the distinct techniques employed by the latter.[36] In some of the later works included in the *Sutta-Piṭaka* (*AP*, 44: *Suttañca Abhidhammānea Viñayañcāpi Kevalaṃ*) and in the commentaries (*DhsA* 3: *Abhidhammoti sattappakanāni*) and chronicles (*Dpv.* v. 37: *Abhidhammam chappakaraṇaṃ*) the term *Abhidhamma* is increasingly used in its literary sense to refer to the text or to books of a special collection. The derivative *Abhidhammika* (*DhsA.* 29; *M.A.*, II, 256) refers to one who is skilled in the doctrine pertaining to ultimate truths. *Abhidhamma* itself a technical term, has given rise to a number of other compounds which perform a conveniently useful technical function in the discussions relating to the special doctrine. Thus *Abhidhamma-mātikā* (*DhsA.* 36; *Dhs.* I) — subject-head of the special doctrine; *Abhidhamma-tanti* (*DhsA.* II) — *Abhidhamma-Pāli* (M.A. I, 222) — text of the special doctrine; *Abhidhamma-naya* (*UdA*, 177; *Ap.* 550) — method or technique of the special doctrine; *Abhidhamma-bhājaniya* (*Vibh.* 61) — analysis on the basis of the special technique; *Abhidhammakathā* (A. III, 107; *Milinda*, 16; *Vism* 391) — discussion pertaining to special doctrine; *Abhidhamma-desanā* (*Milinda*, 350) — exposition of special doctrine; *Abhidhamma-virodha* (*VinA.* III, 521; *AA.* III, 317) — contrary to special doctrine and so on".

H.G.A. Van Zeyst explains the meaning of the word *Abhidhamma*. He states,[37] "The occurrence of the word *Abhidhamma* in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, 64) connected with instruction in the rules of monastic life (*abhivinayavinetuṃ*) deprives the word of the special meaning given to it in later works. In the *Vinaya* texts *abhidhamma* and *abhivinaya* do not refer to anything deeper than "what pertains to the *dhamma* and *Vinaya*", the capability of teaching which is considered to be an essential requisite in any teacher-monk, and which, therefore, cannot be taken as a profound study and exposition of psycho-analysis. As Oldenberg says, (*Vinaya-Texts*, I, Intro. XII, n. 2) "The only passage in the *Vinaya* which really presupposes the existence of an *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is one in the *Bhikkhuṇi-Vibhaṅga* (*Sutta-Vibhaṅga*, 95th *pācittiya*): "If a nun, having asked for permission to put a question regarding the *Suttanta*, would do so in regard to the Discipline or the *Abhidhamma*, there is an offence of expiation". This view is supported by I.B. Horner (*Introd. to the Book of Discipline*, III, XII) who says, "Yet the very presence of the ward *gāthā* (in connection with *suttanta* and *abhidhamma*: *Vin.* IV,

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144) is enough to preclude the term *abhi-dhamma* from standing for the literary exegesis of that name, for no reference to that third *Piṭaka* as such would have combined a reference to part of the material, verses, which one of the *Piṭakas* finally came to include". The "only" passage in the *Bhikkhuṇī-Vibhaṅga* quoted above is then "unhesitatingly assumed to be an interpolation" by Oldenberg.

The earlier uses of the term *abhidhamma* do not, therefore, convey any suggestion of transcendentality altough the translation of the term as title of an entire collection, of psycho-hegico-eschatological treatises naturally will have to emphasize the special meaning of the prefix *abhi*.

Abhidhamma then has been translated as "special *dhamma*" both by E.J. Thomas (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 159) and G.P. Malalasekera (*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*) referring to the mode of teaching found in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* which is so different from the method employed in the *suttas*. The translation of F.L. Woodward (*Gradual Sayings*, I, 267) as "extra doctrine" is not unwarranted owing to its connection with *abhi-vinaya* which can only mean "pertaining to the discipline". And this applies also to his translation of *abhidhamma* as "further *dhamma*" (*Ibid.*, V, pp. 19, 139, 217) in its connection with further discipline". E.M. Hare's translation" (*Ibid.*, IV, 267) "More *Dhamma*" is also joined to the "More Discipline" and cannot, therefore, refer to the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, even though the commentary tries to explain it in that way. Here also, therefore, the reference is not to more *dhamma* but just to "being questioned on what pertains to the *dhamma* and what pertains to the discipline".

At another place, however, *abhidhamma* is used together not with *abhi-vinaya*, as in all the previous instances, but with *Vedella* which are *suttas* in the forms of questions. This catechetical *suttas* are usually mentioned as one of the nine classes of Buddhist texts (*navaṅga- satthusāsana*) and cannot, therefore, be taken as a general name for the whole *Dhamma* in opposition to *abhidhamma*. The *Anāgata-bhaya-sutta* (A, III, V. *sutta* 79) speaking of *abhidhamma-kathaṃ vedallakathaṃ*, only gives two instances: "a talk pertaining to teaching, a talk pertaining to questioning".

Again, the word is used in the *citta* (*Hatthi-sāriputta*) *Sutta* (*Ibid.*

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VI, *sutta* 60) and in the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N.* I, 214) where Elders are said to have" a talk pertaining to the doctrine" (*abhi-dhammakathaṃ*). There is nothing in these *suttas* to indicate that the word is being used in the specialized meaning of the system of philosophy, collected in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka;* whereas its use in the *Gulissāni Sutta* (*M.N.I*, 472) is once more linked with that "pertaining to the discipline" (*abhivinaya*).

It has, therefore, been suggested by I.B. Horner (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, p. 299) that the word *abhidhamma* occurring in the *suttas* and *Vinaya*, although not indicating a complete and closed system of philosophy, "had been intended to stand for something more than *dhamma* and *Vinaya*; perhaps in the sense of some more than usually complete grasp and mastery of them due to further study and reflection". The prefix *abhi* has been compared to that other prefix *abhi* in combination with *sīla, citta* and *paññā*, higher morality, i.e., more than the five precepts, higher thought and higher wisdom, which are related to the sphere of existence above the world of sense-pleasures (*A.N. Atthakatha*, II, pp. 345-46)".

Kogen Mizuno gives verbal definitions of the *Abhidhamma*. He states,[38] "In China, *Abhidhamma* is translated as "great *dharma*" (law) "peerless *dhamma*", "excellent *dharma*" and "the study about *dharma*" or "facing *dharma*". According to the commentary of the *Ekottarāgama*, "*Abhidharma* is the great *dharma*. It is called great because it is great knowledge of the four truths and destroys wrong views, ignorance and delusion. And the eight forms of intelligence, ten forms of wisdom and the right view of purity help to surmount the obstacles of the three realms of sentient beings. Therefore, it is called the peerless *dharma*".

Another source says *Abhidharma* is called "excellent" or peerless *dharma*", because it reveals wisdom. Again it is called "proceeding *dharma*" because cause proceeds to effect, and it is called "*dharma*-confronting" because wisdom confronts its objects. Further, the *Mahāvibhāsā śāstra* gives various theories as to the verbal meaning of *Abhidhamma*, namely, (a) the *ābhidharmikas* gives the following reasons: It is able to investigate and discriminate the characteristics of phenomena thoroughly well; it is able to reflect on the various natures of phenomena and penetrate into them: it is able to perceive and realize phenomena its *dharma* is very profound and reaches the very foundation;

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various sacred eyes of wisdom are purified by this *Abhidharma*; it is able to reveal the hidden and subtle nature of things; the expounded *dharma* is not inconsistent; it can conquer all heretical doctrines. (b) Vasumitra gives the following reasons: it is always able to investigate the nature and characteristics of phenomena, expounded in the *sutra*, etc.; it explains the twelve-number causal law and the inherent nature of phenomena; it helps us to understand the Four Noble Truths thoroughly; it studies and practises the law of the Noble Eightfold Path; it enables us to realise *Nirvāṇa;* it arranges phenomena in various ways by names of profound doctrines. (c) Bhadanta's theory: it is called *Abhidharma* because it collects, arranges, and discriminates such problems as defilement, purity, bondage, emancipation, degeneration and elevation, by means of sentences, phrases and words. (d) Pārśava's theory: it is called *Abhidharma* because it is ultimate, excellent and infallible wisdom. (e) Ghosaka's theory: it is called *Abhidharma* because through it, one who seeks emancipation following the right practice, gets clear insight as to suffering, cause and cessation of suffering, the path, the preparatory process, the penultimate path, the process of emancipation, the special higher process, the noble paths and the noble fruits. (f) The Dharmagupataka's theory: it is called *Abhidharma* because of the predominance of *dharma*. (g) the Mahiṃśāsaka's theory: It is called *Abhidhamma* because its wisdom ably illuminates the phenomonal. (h) The Dārṣtāntika's theory: *Nirvāṇa* is supreme amongst all things and the *Abhidharma* is next to it and therefore it is called *Abhidharma*. (i) The *Sabdavāda* theory: 'a' designates removal and '*bhi*' designates discrimination. It (*Abhidharma*) abandons fetters, bad predispositions, trivial strains, the outburst of bias, and discriminates aggregates (*skandha*), sense-organs and perception and their objects (*dhātu* and *āyatana*), causal law, truth (*satya*), material and spiritual nutriment (*āhāra*), the fruition of the path (*śrāmaṇyaphala*), factors of supreme knowledge (*bodyaṅga*), etc., and therfore, it is called *Abhidharma*. (j) Buddhapālita's theory: *abhi* means appearances, and the *abhidharma* draws all the good and causes various factors of supreme knowledge to appear. Therefore, it is called *Abhidharma*. (k) Buddhadeva's theory: *abhi* means predominance and this *abhidharma* is called *Abhidharma* because it is predominant. (l) Vāmalabdha's theory: *abhi* means veneration and this *Abhidharma* is called *Abhidharma* because it

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is venerable and honourable.

The above are verbal definitions of *Abhidharma* given in the *Mahāvibhāsa-śāstra* (*Abhi-dharma-Mahā-vibhāsā*). Vasubandhu defines and explains it in a nutshell in his *Abhi-dharma-kośa-śāstra*. "*Abhidharma*" means "facing the *dharma*" and *dharma* designates *Nirvāṇa* and the four truths as the law of the ideal. That, which confronts this *dharma* is *Abhidharma* and in its primary sense it is pure and immaculate wisdom, but in its worldly sense, preliminary wisdom, anterior to pure immaculate wisdom, and *abhidharma* books themselves are called *Abhidharma*. This immaculate wisdom includes innate wisdom, wisdom consisting in learning, and hearing, wisdom consisting in thought, wisdom acquired by practice".

Dr. W.S. Karunaratne discusses the origin of the *Abhidhamma*. He says,[39] "A critical study of the text of early medieval and modern *Abhidhamma* leads us to the conclusion that the origin and development of the *Abhidhamma* extended over a considerable period of gradual and systematic historical evolution. Reasons of orthodox, however, prevented the early Buddhists from cultivating or approving a strictly historical view of this development. The traditional claim, shared alike by the *Theravādins* and *Sarvāstivādins*, ascribed the *Abhidhamma* both in regard to its historical origin as well as in regard to its literary form, to the Buddha himself. According to the *Abhidharma-Kośavyākhyā* of the *Sarvāstivādins*, the Buddha himself taught the *Abhidharma* on a variety of occasions (Part I, 12: *evam abhidharmo hi dharma-lakṣaṇo-padeśasvarū povineyavaśāt tatra tatra bhagavatoktaḥ*). The *Atthasālinī* of the *Theravādins* which describes the Buddha as the first *Ābhidhammika* (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhkathā*, p. 7: *Sammāsambuddho va paṭhamataraṃ Abhidhammiko*) goes to the length of claiming that the seven treatises of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* were themselves uttered by the Buddha (*DhsA*. 3, 5, 21). This text, in an interesting and valuable passage, speaks of a two-fold origin of the *Abhidhamma* (*DhsA* 31), i.e., origin pertaining to its realisation and that pertaining to its exposition (*Abhidhammo dve nidānāni: adhigamanidānaṃ desanā-nidānaṃ*). In this connection it answers as many as seventeen questions pertaining to the origin, purpose and continuity of the *Abhidhamma*. According to these answers, the *Abhidhamma* was inspired by the earnest aspiration for enlightenment, matured through five

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hundred and fifty births, realised by the Buddha at the foot of the *Bodhi*-Tree, in the month of *Vesākha*. It was reflected upon by the omniscient Buddha, while he was on the seat of enlightenment, during his week's stay at the Jewelled Mansion. It was taught in heaven, that is in the realm of the thirty-three gods, for the benefit of the latter, that is for the purpose of enabling them to get across the four floods of life. It was received by the gods, and is studied by the venerable seekers after perfection as well as by the virtuous worldly folk. It has been mastered by those who have extinguished their deprivities and is held high by those to whom it was meant. It is the word of the Buddha, and has been handed down by the succession of teachers and their pupils. Through Sāriputta it has been successively handed down by Bhaddaji, Sobhita, Piyajāli, Piyadassi, Kosiyaputta, Siggava, Sandeha, Moggaliputta, Visudattam, Dhammiya, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Revata and others up to the time of the Third Council and thereafter by their pupils (*DhsA.* 32). Through their traditional succession in India it was brought to the island of Ceylon, that is by Mahinda, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla and again it was handed down in its new home by their pupils (*Ibid*, 32).

The traditional account no doubt contains valuable historical information, specially with reference to its latter part. The orthodox view is, as already mentioned, that the Buddha not merely inspired the later growth of the *Abhidhamma* but was himself responsible for the literary form which the seven treatises have assumed within the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. There is, however, internal evidence in the Buddhist texts themselves which militates against such a claim. It is very significant, for instance, that there is reference, even nominal, to the *Abhidhamma* in what are generally regarded as the earliest authentic texts of early Buddhism such as the *Sutta-nipāta* and the verse portions of the *Jātaka* tales. And, as has been mentioned already, even in those places in the *Digha, Majjhima* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* where the *Abhidhamma* occurs, the reference is not to a literary compilation or composition but to a distinct technique of analysing the *Dhamma* or to a literary classification based on this techinque. (*D.N.* III, 267; *M.N.* I, 214, 218; *A.N.* I, 288, 290; III, 107). There is also a more positive mind of evidence which tends to confirm the critical opinion of modern scholarship in regard to the origin of the *Abhidhamma*. Buddhaghosa himself records that the ascription of the *Abhidhamma* to the Buddha has been questioned even in the early days of Buddhism (*DhsA*, 28). The monk Tissabhuti of

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Maṇḍalārāma held the view that the Buddha did not preach the *Abhidhamma* and cited the *Padesavihāra Sutta* as supporting him, while on the other hand, the monk Sumanadeva tried to persuade his listeners about the Buddha's authorship of the *Abhidhamma* by citing the orthodox tradition (*DhsA*, 30, 31). Critics raised the same questions at a later date in respect of the *Kathāvatthu*. Buddhaghosa quotes the *Vitaṇḍavādins* (probably meaning cynical sophists) as saying that the *Kathāvatthu* was composed by the elder Moggaliputta-tissa two hundred and eighteen years after the death of the Buddha, and that, therefore it ought to be rejected as having been spoken by the disciples (*DhsA*. 3). While being constrained to admit the truth of this historical event, Buddhaghosa, however, forestalls the objection by holding that in the case of this book the Buddha had laid down the list of subjects and the appropriate technique for their elucidation on the part of his disciple who was destined to be born over two hundred years after his own death (*DhsA*. 4; *Iti satthārā dinna-nayena thapitamātikāya desitattā sakalaṁ petaṁ pakaraṇaṁ Buddha-bhāsitaṁ eva nāma jātaṁ*).

It is generally accepted that the *Abhidhamma* originated and developed out of the *Dhamma*. The term *Dhamma* in its normative aspect bears the wildest meaning and comprehends the entire teaching or doctrine. The *Dhamma* was taught to composite audiences as and when occasion presented itself to the Buddha and the language used was largely non-philosophical with a fair admixture of the colloquial. As the understanding of the disciple became deeper the necessity arose for a more precise statement of the nature of reality. The *Dhamma* was capable of being understood and grasped only by the wise even though it was presented frequently in popular discourse. Hence there were occasions when the doctrine was not well-grasped by some disciples even after the Buddha had taught the sermon. On such occasions, as the *suttantas* themselves record, it was customary for these disciples to betake themselves again either to the Buddha or to one of his initiated disciples, who thereupon undertook a further detailed exposition of the knotty problems involved. This detailed exposition and explanation actually took the form of a commentary and the beginnings of the *Abhidhamma* can be partly traced back to it.

Especially because of the fact that the greater part of the *Dhamma* was taught in a free style, the rich and varied contents of the *suttas* lent themselves to a wide variety of interpretations.

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As the word of the Buddha gradually grew into a religion and philosophically professed by an increasing number of people the necessity arose for a precise and more categorical presentation of the doctrine. This was all the more necessary in view of the fact that other contemporary schools of religion and philosophy were turning out their own literature in which they attempted to present the doctrine precisely and systematically. The richness of the philosophical content of the Buddha's discourses allowed for the possibility of divergence of opinion even among the Buddhist monks themselves.

That this was actually so is indicated by the early history of the emergence of the Buddhist schools. Each school tried in its own way to render explicit what was only implicit in the earlier discourses of the Buddha. This process was probably accelerated after the council of Vesālī which was exclusively devolved to the discussion of ten points of monastic discipline. It was at the council of Pāṭaliputra, in Aśoka's reign, that controversial points were settled and incorporated in the canonical texts under the name *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*. It would appear, therefore, that the various schools with schismatic tendencies had their origin between the two later councils. In the Pāṭaliputta council, the dispute was no longer about rules of discipline, as at Vesālī but about the finer points of psychology and logic. These divergences were naturally reflected in the *Abhidhamma* works that were in process of being compiled or composed at the time.

This also explains the reason that led to the convention of many assemblies and councils for the purpose of determining the exact meaning of "points of controversy". The differences came to be more exaggerated when each school held its own closed sessions to decide the import of the doctrine. The earlier life of eremitical mendicancy gave place gradually to one of settled monasticism and, as a result of the geographical expansion of early Buddhism, monasteries came to be established in scattered places, remote from each other. The life of leisure thus secured induced the monks to engage themselves in philosophical and literary pursuits and the geographical isolation of the monasteries resulted in the growth of independent schools of thought. This explains at once many of the disparities between the various schools in regard to the the *Abhidhamma*. This also contrasts with the position relating to the *Dhamma*. Whereas there is a remarkable degree of agreement among the early schools on the interpretation of the early teachings included in the *Dhamma*, there is a marked lack

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of such agreement in regard to the doctrines contained in the *Abhidhamma*. The *Dhamma* was shared in common by all Buddhists prior to their secession into schools and their geographical separation from one another. In view of the difference among the schools on the subject of the *Abhidhamma* each felt the need for the compilation of a separate *Piṭaka* for the special and elaborated doctrine. Even from the point of view of literature, we see the contrast between the *Dhamma* and the *Abhidhamma*. There is an complete correspondence between the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the early schools, as the available versions in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan show. But in the case of the *Abhidhamma Piṭakas* there is not even correspondence in name in regard to the titles of the canonical *Abhidhamma* texts, let alone agreement in doctrine. This disparity in literary works is especially clearly illustrated by a comparative study of the *Sarvāstivāda* and the *Theravāda*. We can, therefore, say that while the *Dhamma* belongs to the period of undivided Buddhism of the earliest days, the *Abhidhamma* belongs to the period of divided Buddhism. Thus alone we can account adequately for the wide measure of divergence in regard to the *Abhidhamma Piṭakas* and their subject-matter. From its very inception and throughout the medieval and modern periods, the *Abhidhamma* evolved and developed in the isolation of the separate schools".

Dr, W.S. Karunaratne refers to the method of the *Abhidhamma*. He describes,[40] "The method of the *Abhidhamma* (*Abhidhammanaya*) is distinguished from that of the *Suttanta*. The difference between the *Dhamma* and the *Abhidhamma* consists precisely in the distinction between two methods. This method assumes the form of a special kind of analysis called *Abhidhamma-bhājaniya*, to be distinguished again from the *Suttanta-bhājaniya*. In the *suttas* there is frequent reference to loose and, therefore, vague and unscientific popular designation such as the term *puggala* for an individual. In the *Abhidhamma*, on the other hand, an impersonal technical terminology has taken the place of popular name. The individual, for instance, is considered here only in terms of so many categories such as *Khandha*, *dhātu* and *āyatana*, in a more detailed and thorough way than is to be found in the *suttas*. Mrs. Rhys Davids (*ERE*. I, 19) speaks of the *Abhidhamma* as a recount of *suttanta* doctrines, with analysis and elaborations and comment; hence not a positive contribution to the philosophy of early Buddhism, but an analytic, logical and methodological elaboration of what was already given in discourses.

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The analysis in the *Abhidhamma* proceeds with the aid of the method of induction. The progress from the particular to the general is always to the advantage of the *Ābhidhammika*. The observation of the nature and function or behaviour of particular objects and events and persons leads naturally to the statement of fundamental characteristics common to all phenomena. In the ultimate analysis, this method yields us knowledge about the first principles that govern the whole universe. It is this knowledge, elevated to the level of immediate intuition through the systematic purification and development of the human mind, that finally results in the realisation of full enlightenment. This explains why the *Ābhidhammika* shuns the method of deduction which only breeds endless speculation to becloud the purity and openness of the mind of the truth-seeker.

The method of the *Ābhidhammika* is not, however, confined only to the analytical. The *Abhidhamma* denies the competence of more analysis to yield us a comprehensive statement of the nature and function of events and objects. Hence the *Ābhidhammikas* have recognised the importance of synthesis as a method that supplements analysis. In the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the *Theravādins* the method of analysis is illustrated in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, while the *Paṭṭhāna* is wholly devoted to the application of the method of synthesis. Analysis helps us to know the participial nature of phenomena. Synthesis, on the other hand, gives insight into the dynamic function, as well as the cause for the separate identity, of the same phenomena.

The method of the *Abhidhamma* has given us a description of phenomena as they are made available to perception. The attempt to undertake only a descriptive analysis of empirical reality has eliminated the possibility of the intrusion of speculative matter into the *Abhidhamma*. The purpose of the *Abhidhamma* is solely to understand the world around and within us and the only function of the *Ābhidhammika*, which can be both ethically edifying and practically useful, is to describe the data as they are actually presented to perception. This invests the facts stated by the *Abhidhamma* with a scientific character".

H.G.A. Van Zeyst gives an account of the *Abhidhamma*. He opines,[41] Buddhist philosophy is not a mere speculation on mental analysis. It is no doubt analytical through and through, so much so that the *Theravāda* school, whose system of philosophy

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is now under discussion, was earlier known as *Vibhajjavāda*, the Analytical school. But it is analysis with a purpose, and the purpose is ethical. And thus we have a psychology of conduct as well as a moral code based on mental analysis. Will (*chanda*), volition (*cetanā*), adjustment of attention (*cetaso abhiniropanā*) or aspiration and intention (*saṅkappa*) show the working of the mind as it inclines with craving to either unwholesome or the so-called good. And that is exactly the content of that compendium of Mental States, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the first book of the seven which constitute the collection of philosophical works, the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

It is abvious that the *Abhidhamma* as a whole and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* in particular are works of serious study. And in this is found the great difference in style and composition, in method of exposition and argument, and even in the basic approach to the subject between the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. For, the *suttas* are expositions in the form of discussions and discourses, giving details of circumstances and of the people taking part therein, whereas the *Abhidhamma* teaching is entirely devoid of explanation (*nippaṅyāya*). It is certainly not a handbook for beginners and a fair amount of atleast acquaintance with the subject-matter is presupposed. Neither does it essentially add to the knowledge of the Buddha-*dhamma* which could be gleaned from the *suttas*. But whereas this doctrine is found scattered, incoherently, throughout the many thousands of *suttas*, the same doctrine is methodically arranged and systematically explained in the various books of the *Abhidhamma*, without historical detail regarding persons or occasions, frequently in the academic form of question and answer. A summary at the end of a chapter adds to its scholastic appearence. Thus we have a plan (*uddesa*), an exposition (*niddesa*) in question and answer rounded off with a summary (*appanā*).

In the *suttas* the doctrine is given with a practical purpose, the development of morality, of insight, the attainment of realisation. In the *Abhidhamma* the preacher has been replaced by the scholar, whose main interests are definitions, technical determinations, analytical knowledge and synthetic logic. Yet the goal is the same for both. The *suttas* will preach of altruistic love and selfless virtue, of mental absorption in meditative exercises, of purity of living, leading to clarity of thought. The *Abhidhamma*

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will analyse the process of thought, the components of corporeality and mentality, and thereby prove that there is no abiding entity which could be called a soul. And thus the two meet again in the realisation of soullessness (*anattā*) through self-renouncing virtue and self-renouncing wisdom".

Kogen Mizuno traces the characteristics of the *Abhidhamma*. He describes,[42] "In this section we shall give the characteristics of the *Abhidhamma* as seen in the existing *Abhidhamma* literature of various stages. The original *Abhidhamma* was a sort of commentary on the *sutta* which was the Buddha's teaching, as seen in the juxtaposition of the pair (*abhidharma* and *abhivinaya*) found in the *Nikāyas*. Gradually, annotation and explanation on the teaching (*dhamma*) and precept (*Vinaya*) began during the Buddha's life-time or immediately after his *parinibbāna*. These were called *abhidhamma* and *abhivinaya* respectively. In the early period, they were included in the writings as commentary, *sutta* and systematical *sutta*. They are the oldest form of the *Abhidhamma*. Their characteristics were: (1) They annotated and explained the *sutta* texts and gave definitions and explanations of terminology. (2) They arranged and classified numerical doctrines according to numerals. (3) They systematised the doctrines preached in the *suttas* and established a consistent method of practice. These were the distinctive characteristics of the earliest *Abhidhamma*. These *abhidhammic suttas* were attributed to the Buddha or to his famous disciples. They are now included in the *Sutta* collection. These *abhidhammic suttas* developed into independent *Abhidhamma* which may be called the fundamental *Abhidhamma*. They were products of growth during a long period. In accordance with the various stages of development the methodology too underwent some changes. The early fundamental *Abhidhamma* had the above-mentioned three qualities in common with the *abhidhammic suttas* which preceded it. The only difference was that in the former the qualities were more developed. Accordingly, they still consisted of explanations and interpretations of the *suttas* or their arrangement or organisation. But in the next stage, the *Abhidhamma* gradually deviated from the *suttas* and came to have contents of its own. The methodological characteristics of this (second) period were: the subjects of discourse were classified by some *abhidhammic* standards, by arrangement into various branches (p. *pañhapuccha*); consideration of subordination of concepts of the

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objects of discourse according to their connotation and denotation (p. *saṅgaha* Skt. *saṅgraha*); consideration of concurrence and correspondence of various mental functions, etc. (p. *sampayoga*, Skt. *samprayoga*).

By means of these three methods, the conceptual definition of the objects of discourse became very exact, and mind and matter were considered as a whole. In early Buddhism they were explained only as far as they had any connection with practice and emancipation. But here they came to be examined as a whole and objectively. Consequently, the method of classification used by original Buddhism and the early *Abhidhamma* proved to be inadequate. And there arose the method of classification unique to the *Abhidhamma* of this period.

Let us explain it concretely. In original Buddhism and the early *Abhidhamma*, matter and mind were synthetically classified by such categories as five *skandhas*, twelve *āyatanas*, eighteen *dhātus*. But in *Abhidharma* of, e.g., the *Sarvāstivādins* from the middle period onward, all forms of existence were classified into five categories, namely: matter (*rūpa*), mind (*citta*), attributes of mind (*cetasika*); that power which belongs neither to matter nor to mind and yet activates matter and mind (*citta-vippayutta-dhamma*); and the unconditioned (*asaṅkhata-dhamma*). But this classification varies more or less with schools. On the other hand, in the late *Abhidhamma*, all things, from temporal and local relations, are considered in terms of conditions or causes of their birth, rise, decay and extinction. Again, some schools consider the accomplishment or non-accomplishment of some phenomena by the influence of matter and mind. Hitherto, we have stated the characteristics mainly common to all schools of the *Abhidhamma*".

Dr. W.S. Karunaratne gives an account of the subject-matter of the *Abhidhamma*. He states,[43] "our knowledge of the internal and external worlds is obtained through sensory perception. This world of sense experience is comprehended by mind and matter. Reality, however, is not exhausted by the data of the six sense-organs. Ultimate reality transcends the empirical world of relativity. The totality of life is, therefore, fully exhausted by mind, matter and ultimate reality. These precisely define the scope and limit of the subject-matter of the *Abhidhamma*. The data of sensory perception are either corporeal or psychological. Every

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datum of corporeality or psychology is found to be an instance of contingent existence. The contingent is that which is subject to change and evolution. All corporeal and psychological data are, therefore, of the nature of phenomena, for the non-contingent noumenal nature said by speculative philosophers to underlie them is not yielded to sensory perception. The fundamental generic term which comprehends all phenomena is *dhamma*. The *Abhidhamma* is largely devoted to the discussion of *dhamma* or phenomena. Insofar as the empirical world is concerned, the *Ābhidhammika*, is wholly interested in the model view of reality. In the view of the *Ābhidhammika*, there is nothing in all the data of sensory perception which does not admit of the nature of *dhamma*, for all phenomena are evanescent, non-substantial and lacking in perfect harmony and consistency. As a result of the application of this text of reality, the discussion of *a priori* categories such as God and soul are not found in the *Abhidhamma*.

This leads to the *Abhidhamma* definition of what is real in the fundamental sense. There is none other than *paramattha*. There are four types of this reality, namely, mind (*citta*), co-efficients of mind, (*cetasika*), matter (*rūpa*) and ultimate reality (*nibbāna*). Of these four types the first three are empirical and mundane, while the fourth alone is transcendental. The reality of the first three consists in their capacity for change and evolution. *Paramattha* means fundamental category. The four types of *Paramattha* are based on a distinct theory of degrees of truth and reality. Although all four types of reality are commonly called *Paramattha*, there is a vital difference in the levels of reality as between the first three and the fourth. The former belong to the realm of empirical reality while the latter belongs to the transcendental realm of the unconditioned abolute. Mind and its co-efficient and matter, although called *Paramattha* are not unchanging entities enduring and perdurable in character. They have no underlying permanent nature, while the fourth *paramattha*, namely, ultimate reality, being of a transcendental nature, does not lend itself to verbal prediction. The four types of ultimates comprise, according to the *Theravāda Abhidhamma*, a total of eighty-two categories. The mind is one ultimate, the co-efficients of mind divide themselves into fifty-two ultimate forms, matter is analysed into twenty-eight distinct forms, and reality (*nibbāna*) constitutes one ultimate from the transcendental point of view.

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The Buddha asserts the supermacy of the mind in the direction and determination of life. The world is led by the mind (*cittena niyati loko*). This truth leads to the recognition that the proper study of man is his own mind. If the realisation of the truth is possible only through the development and purification of the mind, it then follows that the proper understanding of its nature and function must necessarily precede any serious and successful attempt at such purification and development. Since the *Abhidhamma* teaches the path to the realisation of truth, the study of the mind has been given the foremost attention and consideration throughout its discussion of reality. The content of the *Abhidhamma* is thus predominantly psychological. Herein we have the first serious attempt in the history of human thought to place the study of psychology on a scientific footing. It is a system of descriptive and critical psychology which "psychologies" without the aid of a metaphysical psyche. It claims only to describe and analyse psychological situations as they actually occur. The value of the *Abidhamma* in this regard lies in the fact that it gives us an insight into the mainsprings of the psychological life of the individual.

The thoroughgoing psychological analysis of the *Ābhidhammikas* reflect the heights to which the science of the mind had attained among the Buddhists at a very early date in the history of intellectual progress. The classical *Abhidhamma* term for the mind is *citta*. It has other synonyms such as *mano*, *viññāna* and *ceto*. The mind is no abstraction. It is participial in formation. Given the necessary conditions, there is origination of consciousness of one sort or another. Hence the mind is always a specific instance consisting of particular characteristics.

The mind, itself considered as a sense-doer, is surrounded by five other external-sense-doers, the eye, ear, nose, tongue and body. Perception is described and explained on the basis of the stimuli which impinge on the one or the other of the sense-organs. Sensory contact comes about as a result of the coming together of a sense-organs and its corresponding object. The sensory contact then leads to the birth of sensations of one sort or another (visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and, in the case of the mind, the sixth sense-organ, conceptual), which in their turn generate situations which are pleasant, unpleasant, or hedouistically neutral. Pleasent sensations conduce to the growth of craving

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which makes one attached to objects of one sort or another. This attachment provides the motive impulse which keeps a-going the stream of becoming, which is nothing other than the continuity of life in all its manifestations.

The *Abhidhamma* deals in detail with the process of perception. According to the *theravāda* analysis, this is marked by seventeen distinct stages of cognitive and conceptual activity. From the stage of bare awareness up to the point when there is an indelible registration of the cognised object these are seventeen thought-moments involved. According to this theory, it would appear that one moments of physical change is co-extensive and co-eval with seventeen moments of psychological change. Hence, the *Abhidhamma* says that the mind changes sixteen times as fast as matter. The co-efficients of mind are the various non-cognitive elements and *Theravāda* lists them as amounting to a total of fifty-two. These are separately listed, probably on account of their importance for the psychology of human conduct.

The *Saravāstivāda Abhidhamma*, which analyses all reality into seventy-five ultimate *dharmas* adds to the analyses of the *Theravādins* in many important ways. Their extensive classifications are summarised in the *Abhidharmakośa* and the commentaries thereon, just as those of the *Theravāda* are summarised in the *Visuddhimagga*, and other commentaries on the books of the canonical *Abhidhamma*.

The analysis of matter in the *Abhidhamma* is significant especially in view of the modern scientific researches into the subject. Matter, according to *Abhidhamma*, is considered as a function and the *Theravāda* enumerates as many as twenty-eight forms of it.

Perhaps the most important single contribution of the *Abhidhamma* to the history of thought is its fully developed and thoroughly comprehensive theory of causality and relativity. Being a thoroughly consistent attempt at explaining the dependent origination of all phenomena, it is, in its widest empirical sense, a gigantic theory of cosmic dynamics. The most voluminous work of the *Theravāda Abhidhamma*, namely, the *Paṭṭhāna*, is wholly devoted to the consideration of this theory from the point of view of its application to the facts of sensory perception.

The *Abhidhamma* deals at length with the mechanics of mind

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control and with the teachings of psychic development of the mind. The primary aim here is to indicate the path to the realisation of wisdom or *paññā*. The *Abhidhamma* concludes with the discussion of the ultimate reality of *Nibbāna*. The latter is more frequently defined in ethical terms and more rarely as the unconditioned Absolute which transcends all antinomics. Throughout this discussion, the *Abhidhamma* avoids the subtler metaphysics of the later Buddhist Absolute Idealists".

Kogen Mizuno mentions the subject-matter before the fundamental *Abhidhamma*. He describes,[44] "The *Abhidhamma* developed, as we saw above, from the attempt at classification of what is preached to the *sutta*. The subject-matter treated there was the teaching of the *Nikāyas*, especially their creed and doctrines. Let us take an example of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, a source literature which existed before the fundamental *Abhidhamma*. In the book thirty items concerning doctrine are treated. They are (A) knowledge (*ñāna*), wrong views (*diṭṭhi*), mindfulness regarding respiration (*ānāpana*), controlling principle (*indriya*), emancipation (*vimokkha*), sphere of existence (*gati*), karma theory (*kamma*), perversion (*vipallāsa*), path (*magga*), excellent drink (*maṇḍa-peyya*). (B) Association of quietude and insight (*yoganaddha*), truth (*sacca*), factor of supreme knowledge (*bojjhaṅga*) love or amity (*mettā*), absence of desire (*virāga*) analytic insight (*paṭisambhidā*), wheel of law (*dhammacakka*), transcendental world (*lokuttara*), spiritual power (*bala*), void (*suññā*). (C) Great wisdom (*mahāpaññā*), psychic power (*iddhi*), clear understanding of truth (*abhisamaya*), detachment (*viveka*), behaviour (*cariyā*), marvels (*pāṭihāriya*), "equal-headed one", who simultaneously attains an end of craving (*samasīsa*), application of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), insight (*vipassanā*), tabulated summary (*mātikā*).

These 30 items are in most cases given in the *Nikāyas*. But some show further progress. At any rate, these 30 items exhaust the important problems of Buddhist doctrine. But systematisation is not complete. This arrangement and organisation is seen in the Pāli *Vibhaṅga* and the *Dharmaskandha* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school, treatises representative of the early fundamental *Abhidhamma*".

Kogen Mizuno discusses the fundamental *Abhidhamma* of the early period. He states,[45] "To begin with the Pāli *Vibhaṅga*

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arranged the subjects of study into the following 17 items: aggregates (*khandha*), sense-organs and sense-objects (*āyatana*), elements (*dhātu*), truth (*sacca*), controlling principle (*indriya*), mode of causes (*paccayākāra*), application of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), right exertion (*sammappadhāna*), psychic power (*iddhipāda*), factor of knowledge (*bajjhaṅga*), path (*magga*), meditation (*jhana*), set of precepts (*sikkhāpada*), analytic insight (*paṭisambhidā*), knowledge (*ñāna*), miscellaneous vices (*khanddakavatthu*), and essence or summary of *dhamma* (*dhammahadaya*). They include the important problems of Buddhism, such as five *khandhas*, twelve *āyatanas*, eighteen *dhātus*, four *saccas*, twenty-two *indriyas*, twelve member causality, four *satipaṭṭhānas*, four *sammappadhānas*, four *iddhipādas*, seven *bojjhaṅgas*, the Noble Eightfold Path, meditation of four *jhāna* and four *āruppa samāpatti*, the four precepts of the householder, four analytic insights, various types of wisdom and various evil desires.

The *Dharmaskandha* of the *Saravāstivāda* deals with the following 21 items, which are in the main the same as those mentioned above. They are: sets of precepts (*sikṣāpada*), four phases of conversion (*śrotāpattyaṅga*), perfect faith (*avetyaprasāda*), fruition of the path (*śrāmanya phala*), practice and knowledge (*pratipadabhijñā*), noble lineage of reclues (*āryavaṁśa*), right exertion (*samyak-prahāṇa*), psychic power (*ṛddhi-pāda*), application of mindfulness (*smṛti-prasthāna*), noble truth (*ārya-satya*) meditation (*dhyāna*), the illimitable (*apramāṇa*), formless meditation (*ārūpya*), practice of other meditation (*samādhi-bhāvanā*), factor of supreme knowledge (*bodhyaṅga*), miscellaneous vices (*kṣudraka-vastu*), controlling principles (*indriya*), sense-organs and sense-objects (*āyatana*), aggregates (*skandha*), many elements (*bahu-dhātu*) and law of causation (*pratityasamutpāda*).

The twenty-one items are a little more than 17 items of the *Pāli* Buddhism, and roughly speaking, many items of these two sets coincide with or resemble each other. And all of them are relevant to the primary doctrines of Buddhism. But Buddhism treats worldly problems besides the doctrinal ones. So the *Abhidhamma* of the early period also dealt with those worldly problems. The section which dealt with them is called the *Prajñapti-śāstra* (Skt.), *paññatti* (Pāli). In Pali Buddhism, individual persons of various

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kinds, ranging from the unenlightened laymen to enlightened saints, are dealt with in the *Puggala-paññatti*. In the *Sarvāstivāda*, world (*loka*), action (*karma*), causes (*upada*) etc. are treated from the worldly standpoint in the *Prajñapti-śāstra* (*Taisho*, 1538). These worldly conceptions (temporal questions, issues) were dealt with only superficially in the *Nikāyas*. The *Paññatti* gleaned and arranged the discussion which had been scattered".

Kogen Mizuno gives an account of the *Abhidhamma* from the middle period onward. He says,[46] "when the above-mentioned contents of the early *Abhidhamma* came to be studied by the method adopted in the *Abhidhamma* from the middle period onward, they were studied in the abstract and objectively, and the study for the sake of practice which had been traditional since original Buddhism became the study for the sake of theory, detached from practices. Consequently, the classification of the contents was, as has been mentioned before, made into matter (*rūpa*), mind (*citta*), mental attributes (*cetasika*), the unconditioned (*asaṃkhata*) etc. These studies were made in various schools and in some cases various theories arose in the same school. Some discourse books collected these different theories. The Pāli *Kathāvatthu* is a book of this kind and the book contains 217 items of difference. Though not a fundamental discourse book, the *Samayabhedaparacana-cakra* describes the history of the divisions into schools and their divergent theories. Among others, the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā-śāstra* also gives many divergent theories".

Kogen Mizuno refers to manuals (compendiums). He describes,[47] "When the age of manuals followed the age of fundamental *Abhidhamma*, the practice of Buddhism came to be discussed again. For example, the forms which the Pāli *Visuddhimagga* chose was to set up seven stages of purity as the grading of Buddhist discipline and to expound the doctrines according to them. The *Abhidharma Kośa-śāstra* and the *Satya-siddhi-śāstra* of the *Sautrāntika* line systematise doctrines according to the order of the four truths (sorrow, origin of sorrow, cessation of sorrow and the path). Again *Skandha's Abhidharmāvatāra* and the *Mahāyāna-pañcaskandha-śāstra* of Vasubandhu of the *Yogācāra* school and other discourse books arrange the doctrines and theories in the order of five aggregates. But on the other hand, based on purely objective theories, discuss doctrines by classification into matter, mind, mental attributes etc."

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Kogen Mizuno then discusses the method of study adopted by the *Abhidhamma*. He says,[48] (1) The method of early *Abhidhamma*: The methods also underwent changes as the *Abhidhamma* developed. First, let us look at the method of the early *Abhidhamma*. It had three distinctive features. There were: (i) the items concerning the conditions by which evils arise and those concerning practice and emancipation are systematically expounded. This method can be seen in the Pāli *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Dharmaskandha* of *Sarvāstivāda;* (ii) various doctrines are arranged in numerical order. This can be seen in the *Puggala Paññatti* and in the theory of evils expounded in the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Saṅgītiparāyana;* (iii) exposition of doctrines and definition and explanation of the terminology. This is seen everywhere in the early *Abhidhamma* and is typical of it.

These three distinctive features in rudimentary form could be seen before the establishment of the fundamental *Abhidhamma* in the *suttas* and other literature of *abhidhammic* tendency. More particularly in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Niddesa*, the features are nearly the same as in the *Abhidhamma*.

(2) The method of study adopted in the *Abhidhamma* of the middle period and after: The methodological characteristics of the *Abhidhamma* of the middle period and after were, as has already been mentioned: (I) consideration according to *abhidhammic* standards (Pāli *pañha-puccha*), (II) consideration of the subject-matter from the point of view of connotation and denotation (Skt. *saṅgraha*, Pāli *saṅgha*), (III) consideration of the concurrence and co-existence of mental action (Skt. *samprayoga*, Pāli *sampayoga*), (IV) consideration on the conditional relation of phenomenal succession and co-existence (Skt. *Pratyaya*, Pāli *paccaya*), (V) consideration on the maturity and non-maturity of the phenomena (Skt. *samanvāgamana*). These will be surveyed below:

(I) Questioning (*Pañha-puccha*): In the Pāli *Abhidhamma* 22 triplets (*tika*) and 100 doublets (*duka*) are established as standards of consideration. The total of the standards are called "*abhidhammic* table of contents" (*abhidhamma-mātikā*). They are the standards applicable to the whole *Abhidhamma*. Other schools have no such fixed standards and the kinds and numbers

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vary with the convenience of the occasion. To begin with the 122 standards of the Pāli *Abhidhamma* are as follows:

(A) 22 Triplets (*Tika*): (i) good (*kusala*), bad (*akusala*), indeterminate (*avyākata*); (ii) associated with pleasant feeling (*sukhāya vedanāya sampayutta*), associated with painful feeling (*dukkhāya vedanāya sampayutta*); (iii) result (*vipāka*), that which has resultant quality (*vipākadhamma*), that which is neither result nor a thing having resulant quality; (iv-vi) that which has the act of applied and sustained thinking (*savitakka savicāra*), the act of sustained thinking only (*avitakka vicārametta*), the act of neither applied nor sustained thinking (*avitakka avicāra*); (vii) state of being accompained by zest (*piti sahagata*), state of being accompanied by happiness (*sukkha sahagata*), state of being accompanied by indifference (*upekkhā sahagata*); (viii) removability by vision (*dassanena pahātabba*); removability by culture (*bhāvanāya*, Pāli), irremovability either by vision or by culture; (ix-x) going to degeneration (*ācayagāmī*) to purification (*apavayagāmī*), to neither degradation nor elevation; (xi) the trainee (*sekhiya*), the adept (*asekhiya*), the one who is neither trainee nor adopt; (xii) limited (*paritta*), sublime (*mahāgatta*), infinite (*appamāna*); (xiii-xiv) low (*hīna*), of medium worth (*majjhima*), excellent (*paṇita*); (xv) fixed wrongfulness as to consequence (*micchattaniyata*), fixed rightfulness as to consequence (*sammattaniyata*), undefined (*aniyata*); (xvi-xviii) past (*atīta*), future (*anāgata*), present (*paccuppanna*); (xix-xx) that which belongs to one's self (*ajjhatta*), what is external to one's self (*bahiddha*), what is both inside and outside of oneself (*ajj-hattabahiddha*); (xxi-xxii) what is visible and reacting (*sanidassana-sappaṭigha*), what is visible and reacting (*anidassana-sappaṭigha*), what is neither visible nor reacting (*anidassana-appaṭigha*).

(B) 100 Doublets (*Duka*): (i) Moral roots (*hetu*), what are not moral roots (*na hetu*); (ii) concomitance with moral roots (*sahetuka*), non-concomitance with moral roots (*ahetuka*); (iii-vii) causally related (*sappaccaya*), not causally related (*appaccaya*); (viii) conditioned (*saṅkhata*), unconditioned (*asaṅkhata*); (ix) visible (*sanidassana*), invisible (*anidassana*); (x) reacting (*sappaṭigha*), not reacting

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(*appaṭigha*); (xi) having material form (*rūpī*), immaterial (*arūpī*); (xii) mundane (*lokiya*), supramundane (*lokuttara*); (xiii) being cognised (*kenaci viññeyya*), being incognisable (*kenaci na viññayya*); (xiv) stain (*āsava*), no stain (*na āsava*); (xv) having stains (*sāsava*), having no stains (*anāsava*); (*xvi*-lv) having objects of thought (*sārammaṇa*), having no such objects (*anārammaṇa*); (lvi) Mind (*citta*), non-mind (*na-citta*); (lvii) mental attribute (*cetasika*), not-mental attribute (*acetasika*); (lviii) conjoined with mind (*cittasampayutta*), detached from mind (*citta-vippayutta*); (lix-lxvi) one's own (*ajjhattika*), external (*bāhira*); (lxvii) derived (*upāda*), not derived (*na upāda*); (lxviii-xxv) vices (*kilesa*), non-vices (*na kilesa*); (lxxvi-xxvii) vitiated (*saṅkiliṭṭha*), not vitiated (*asaṅkiliṭṭha*); (lxxviii-xciii) realm of sense (*kāmāvacara*), not relam of sense (*na kāmāvacara*); (xciv) realm of form (*rāpāvacara*), not realm of form (*na rūpāvacara*); (xcv) formless realm (*arūpāvacara*), not-formless realm (*na arūvacara*); (xcvi) Included (*pariyāpana*), un-included (*apariyā-panna*); (xcvii) leading onward *(niyyānika)*, not leading onward *(aniyyānika)*; (xcviii) fixed (*niyata*), not fixed (*aniyata*); (xcix) having beyond (*sanuttara*), having no beyond (*anuttara*); (c) strife (*saraṇa*), non strife (*araṇa*).

The *Sariputra-abhidharma-śāstra* in its Chinese translation of an unknown school, gives 36 doublets and 7 triplets, a total of 43 standards. The *Jñāna-prasthāna* of the *Sarvāstivāda* gives 50 standards. Most of them can be found in the 122 standards of the Pāli Buddhism, but some are different from those of the Pāli *Abhidhamma*, owing to the differences of sectarian Buddhist theories.

(II) Classification (*Saṅgaha*): Aided by investigation by means of the standards listed above, the attributes of concepts became defined more and more minutely exactly. Consequently, the identity, resemblance and difference of the doctrines and items under examination became clear and distinct. Accordingly, it was natural that the contrast or comparison of the conceptual connotation and denotation led to the subordination of one to another.

(III) Mental association or combination (*Samapayoga*): Mental function was examined with reference to perception, good and evil

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deeds, the practice of the path, the realisation of the fruit, meditation and various psychic powers. And the conceret mind in these cases was analysed and mental substance (*citta*) as an agent was distingushed from mental attributes (*cetasika*). The co-existence of the mental substance and its attributes were considered as combination (*sampayoga*). This theory, too, varied with schools. For example, with the *Sarvāstivāda*), the conditions which regulate combination are: (i) Equality of support (*āśraya-samatā*). Mental substance and its attributes should have the same sense-organ for support. (ii) Equality of sense or object (*ālambana-samatā*). Mental substance and its attributes should perceive the same object. (iii) Equality of mode (*ākāra-samatā*). Mental substance and its attributes should work in the same manner when perceiving. (iv) Equality of time (*kāla-samatā*) synchronism. Mental substance and its attributes work at the same time. (v) Equality of substance (*dravya-samatā*). As each mental attribute associates with mental substance at the same time, so two or more agencies of the same attribute cannot associate simultaneously with one mental substance. This is called the theory of the five-aspect Equality of the *Sarvāstivāda*. Pāli Buddhism also sets out much the same theory.

(IV) Theory of correlation (*Paccaya*): This theory is intended to make an exhaustive survey of the spatial and temporal relation of phenomena with one another as they appear and disappear and change. Mental association is, of course, one of those relations. As for conditions, the theory of correlation may have developed from the consideration of the twelve-member causal law (*paticcasamuppāda*). This law which originally ruled moral actions only, was extended and made applicable to all physical and material phenomena as well as to moral actions. The Pāli *Abhidhamma* gives 24 relational conditions, the *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra* 10 kinds, and the *Sarvāstivāda* 6 or 4 kinds. These theories of various schools show some resemblance or similarity with each other, but probably there had been no direct relation among the various schools.

To begin with, the 24 kinds of relational condition of Pāli Buddhism are the following: (i) Condition of cause (*hetu-paccaya*). Immediate cause, principal cause: (ii) Object (*ārammaṇa-paccaya*). Objects which cause cognition: (iii) Dominance (*adhipati-paccaya*). Various auxiliary conditions, mediate or

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indirect cause; (iv) Contiguity (*anantara-paccaya*). The same as the next one; (v) Immediate contiguity (*samanantara-paccaya*). The immediately preceding mental state performs the function to give place to the immediately following mental states; (vi) Co-existence (*sahajāta-paccaya*). Co-existential relation of concurrent material or mental things; (vii) reciprocity (*aññamañña-paccaya*). The reciprocal relation of concurrent mental and material things; (viii) dependence (*nissaya-paccaya*). Sensation or perceptions depend on the corresponding sense-organs or seats of perception; (ix) sufficing condition (*upanissaya-paccaya*). Object and contiguity become sufficing condition in order to become more powerful; (x) Antecedence (*purejāta-paccaya*). Sense-organs and sense-objects become condition of antecedence; (xi) consequence (*pacchajāta-paccaya*). Succeeding mind becomes condition to preceding body; (xii) Succession (*āsevana-paccaya*). The relation in which powerful apperception lasts; (xiii) *Karma* (*kamma-paccaya*). The relation of good or evil *karma* with material and mental things; (xiv) Effect (*vipāka-paccaya*). The relation of the karmic result with concurrents material and mental things; (xv) Nutriment (*āhāra-paccaya*). The relation of material and spiritual nutriments with body and mental experience; (xvi) Controlling power (*Indriya-paccaya*). Relation of twenty-two, controlling powers with material and mental things; (xvii) meditation (*jhāna-paccaya*). Relation of the constituents of meditation, such as applied thinking (*vitakka*), and sustained thinking (*vicāra*), with concurrent phenomena; (xviii) Path *(magga-paccaya).* Relation of the constitutents of the path, such as right view, etc., with concurrent phenonena; (xix) Association (*sampayutta-paccaya*). Relation through association of mind substance and mental attributes; (xx) dissociation (*vippayutta-paccaya*). The case where there occurs no association; (xxi) presence (*atthi-paccaya*) Dependence of matter and mind on each other for existence; (xxii) absence (*natthi-paccaya*). Relation of the preceding mental state to the succeeding one; (xxiii) Abeyance (*vigata-paccaya*). Relation similar to item (xxii); (xxiv) continuance (*avigata-paccaya*). Relation similar to item (xxi).

Some of these 24 items resemble or overlap some others. They are not adequately arranged. This is not a strict and logical classification. The ten relational conditions expounded in the *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra* seem to correspond to those of Pāli Buddhism, as given here in parentheses: 1 (i); 2 (iv, v); 3 (ii); 4 (viii,

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ix); 5 (xiii); 6 (xiv), 7 (vi, x, xi); 8 (vii); 9(xii); 10 (vi). The four relational conditions expounded by the Sarvāstivāda are: (a) condition of cause (*hetu-pratyaya*), (b) condition of object (*ālambana-pratyaya*), (c) condition of immediate contiguity (*samantara-pratyaya*) (d) condition of dominance (*adhipati-pratyaya*). These correspond to the first 4 or 5 items of Pāli Buddhism. The six causes expounded also by the *Sarvāstivāda* are: (a) cause of co-existence (*sahabhū-hetu*), (b) Association (*samprayukta-hetu*), (c) Relation between the similar (*sabhāga-hetu*), (d) cause of all-pervading evils (*sarvatraga-hetu*), (e) cause of effect (*vipāka-hetu*), (f) Various causes (*kārana-hetu*). Comparison with the 24 conditions of Pāli *Abhidhamma* gives the following table of approximate correspondence: 1 (vi);2 (xix) 3-4 (xii); 5 (xiii) 6 (iii).

(V) *Samanāgama*: As to the possessing and non-possessing of something we have the discussion by the *Sarvāstivāda*, but its exposition is committed here.

The value of the *Abhidhamma*: It was a distinctive merit of the *Abhidhamma* that it systematically unified various doctrines of original Buddhism into a consistent system and gave exact definition of all Buddhist terminology, clarifying all Buddhist concepts. But it carried with it some shortcomings. The definitions of concepts and the exposition of doctrines were too formal and uniform, with the result that the profundity and sublimity of the early doctrines were lost. For, it is impossible to grasp the stream of concrete practice by uniform and abstract definitions. In original Buddhism, the same terminology conveyed various meanings as the hearers' understanding and ability varied. The *abhidhammic* definitions deprived the words or concepts of their nuance and flexibility, and the *abhidammic* studies gradually deviated from the practice of the path and became mere theories for their own sake, subtle and complicated. The religiosity and practical nature proper to Buddhism were lost. It was to rectify these shortcomings that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism arose".

Dr. W.S.Karunaratne mentions the *Abhidhamma* as a religion. He says,[49] "To the religious consciousness, human life is essentially ethically conditioned. The meaning and significance of human conduct can be made intelligible only from the standpoint of ethics. Culture and civilisation, whether of individual or of the group, are inconceivable without the motive force of an ethical ideology. Morality is the sense of value that the mind attaches to

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human behaviour, in thought, word and deed. All ethics, therefore, is psychological. Ethical action is fully conscious, purposive action. Human action, if it is to be ethically significant, has to originate always from volitional impulse. Psychological behaviour is not a mechanical process. The laws of the mind are fundamentally different from the laws of physics. Since the Buddha asserts the supremacy of mind over matter, what is essential for the seeker after ethical and spiritual perfection is to understand the nature and functions of psychological process. In the view of the *Abhidhamma*, the study of ethics and psychology is not an academic pursuit but something that is essentially relevant to the progress and harmony of individual and social life.

The *Abhidhamma* marks a consistent and highly successful attempt at the harmonious integration of ethics, psychology and religion. This fact gives the *Abhidhamma* its distinctive religious character. The discussions in the *Abhidhamma* are charged with a thoroughgoing ethical earnestness spiringing directly from the religious consciousness of the *Abhidhamma.* It is only in the light of the intense interest in ethics and religion that we can make sense of the seemingly unending and remorseless monotonous classifications and enumarations that keep on occurring in the pages of the *Abhidhamma*, both canonical and commentarial".

Kogen Mizuno gives an account of the *Abhidhamma* literature. He states,[50] "From the earliest times there were, among members of the Buddhist order, experts called *ābhidhammika* (*ābhidharmika*) who specialised in the study and exposition of *Abhidharma.* It was, however, during the period of sectrain Buddhism, i.e., after the growth of various schools that *Abhidharma* became a separate branch of study with a special literature attached to it, although the prototype of such literature was to be found even earlier. Not all schools, nevertheless, showed the same enthusiasm for the study and development of *Abhidharma.* The *Mahāsaṅghikas*, for example, lagged behind the others in this respect, although an examination of the texts of the various schools shows that each school had its own *Tipiṭaka.*

The growth of *Abhidharma* studies and their subsequent incorporation into books can be divided, roughly into three phases. The first covers the period of original or 'primitive' Buddhism and goes back to the time of the Buddha himself. The second is the period during which *Abhidharma* became an independent

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collection or *piṭaka*, detached from the two other *piṭakas* of *Sutta* and *Vinaya*. This was the period of the compilation of the fundamental texts of the *Abhidharma* and may be assigned chronologically to extend from about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era. The period roughly coincides with the period of the differentiation of Buddhist schools.

The third period saw the production of commentaries to the fundamental books and manuals based on them. This period varies in different schools, but roughly speaking, it extended from about the beginning of the Christian era till about the end of the 5th century A.C. But, of course, the compilation of commentaries and manuals never actually ceased completely, especially in the southern schools, of Pāli Buddhism, and in some countries like Burma, the process goes on even today.

The *Abhidharma* of southern Buddhism: What we call southern Buddhism is the Buddhism of the *Sathaviravāda* (*Theravāda*) school, with Ceylon as its centre. Almost all the materials concerning its *Abhidhamma* have been preserved to this day in the Pāli language. There are seven fundamental *Abhidhamma* books in southern Buddhism and in the later literature there exist the *Visuddhimagga* and commentaries on the seven *Abhidhamma* works. These commentaries and the *Visuddhimagga* are ascribed to Buddhaghosa of the first half of the fifth century. His senior contemporary Buddhadatta, also wrote manuals, such as *Abhidhammāvatāra*. Then the *Sthaviravāda* school of Ceylon went through a period of eclipse for several hundred years. But during this period too, a few simple manuals were written.

The revival of *Abhidhamma* studies began in about the twelfth century A.D. In particular Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthaśaṅgaha* was to the *Sthaviravāda* school what the *Kośa-śāstra* was to the *Sarvāstivāda*. Later *Abhidhamma* studies proceeded mostly from this book and many commentaries and exposition of it were made. Soon afterwards, the centre of *Abhidhamma* studies moved from ceylon to Burma. In Burma much development has since been made. There, even today the study of the *Abhidhamma* is enthusiastically pursued. It constitutes the essence of Buddhist learning and the study of Buddhism is itself called *Abhidhamma*.

It would be conventional to divide to course of development of

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Abhidhamma in *Theravāda* into three stages as was done in the case of northern Buddhism: (1) the seven fundamental *Abhidhamma* books; (2) the commentaries on the seven books and manuals; and (3) their sub-commentaries.

The seven books of the Fundamental *Abhidhamma*: The Pāli books of fundamental *Abhidhamma* are customarily grouped in the following order: *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna* or *Mahā Pakaraṇa*.

As mentioned before, tradition attributes these books to the Buddha himself. But, as a matter of fact, they must have been produced during a period of two or three hundred years, beginning from the second or third century after the Buddha's death. The books may be considered in three groups according to their time of compilation: early, middle and later groups. The *Vibhaṅga*, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Puggalapaññatti* belong to the first period. The *Dhātukathā* and the *Kathāvatthu* belong to the middle period and the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna* to the later period.

The Early Books: In some parts of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Vibhaṅga* and throughout the *Puggala-paññatti*, quotations from the *Nikāyas* are explained and expatiated. These texts, therefore, seem to belong to the early period. It is true that the method of study found in the middle period is adopted in some parts of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Vibhaṅga*, but the characteristics of the early period are more prevalent in these books. So we say safely regard them as belonging to the early period".

Hirakawa Akira refers to *Abhidharma* Buddhism. He says,[51] "Inevitably, with the passage of but a few centuries following the death of the Buddha, doctrinal elaboration and scholastic codification of the Master's insights came to play an ever greater role in the Buddhist community. The early teachings of the Buddha wee subjected to a process of redaction that quite naturally attempted to supply systematic vigor to a corpus discourses that originally made no pretense to philosophy, and to expand upon the early teachings in accordance with the *Saṅgha's* own understanding of *dharma*. This transformation of the tradition is reflected in the canon, where, in addition to the various textual genres mentioned above, the need to systematically classify the teachings gave rise at an early period to texts known as *mātṛkās*

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(matrices), lists or outlines of *dharmas*. These lists, greatly elaborated upon and expanded, probably formed the basis for a new direction in Buddhist exegesis and practices and for a new type of Buddhist literature: inquires into the "higher *dharma* (*abhidharma*). Collected in a third *piṭaka* (in most schools) *Abhidharma* literature explored the material and mental constituents of reality with a systematic vigor unknown to the *Sūtra* literature, providing scholar-monks who conceived these texts with a highly detailed map of the path to liberation through the systematic review of the *dharma*.

The establishment of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*: The earlier *Abhidharma* texts were composed around second century B.C. They were collected into *Abhidharma Piṭaka* by the first century B.C.

The *Abhidharma Piṭaka* of the *Theravāda* school is composed of seven texts: (1) *Dhammsaṅgaṇi*, (2) *Vibhaṅga*, (3) *Dhātukathā*, (4) *Puggalapaññatti*, (5) *Kathāvatthu*, (6) *Yamaka*, and (7) *Paṭṭhāna*. Of these seven, the *Puggala-paññatti* is early, as are parts of the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. The remaining portions of the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* were probably compiled next. The *Dhātukathā*, the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna* were compiled at a later date, probably around the first century B.C. The *Kathāvatthu*, a polemical collection of the doctrinal portions held by various Buddhist schools was the last text of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* to be compiled, also in the first century B.C. The treatises of the *Theravāda Abhidhamma Piṭaka* are primarily concerned with ordering and explaining the doctrines presented in the *Nikāyas*. Consequently, they break little new doctrinal ground".

The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* deals with seven texts which are generally known as the *Sattapakaraṇas*. They are *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

THE *DHAMMASAṄGAṆI*

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[52] is an important text of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It can be mentioned as the nucleus of the seven books. The *Sarvāstivāda* school refers to it as *Saṅgīti-Pariyāya-pada*. It signifies the "enumeration of conditions" or it means "co-enumeration of *dhamma*", i.e., the psychical conditions and phonomena of *laukika* (mundane) and *lokottara* (supra-mundane) realms. Most probably it is "enumeration of phenomena". It is

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known as exposition of *dhamma*. According to R.C. Childers, the author hereafter compilation and condensation describes the conditions of the *Kāmaloka* and *Rūpaloka* and for this reason it is known as the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*.[53] Mrs. Rhys Davids[54] describes, "It is, in the first place a manual or text-book and not a treatise or disquisition, elaborated and rendered attractive and edifying after the manner of most of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. And then, that its subject is ethics, but that the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint, and indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psycho-physical data of ethics". The main aim of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is to enumerate and to define a manner of scattered terms which occur in the *nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.[55] The technical terms mentioned in the *nikāyas* are used in it and it is for this reason the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* comes after the *nikāyas*.[56] Mrs. Rhys Davids[57] says that the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* discusses the same topics as in the *nikāyas*, but in the method of treatment there is a difference. The *Kathāvatthu*, which is the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, was composed in the middle of the third century B.C. by Tissa Moggaliputta. It deals with new questions which belong to a later stage in the development of the faith. Thus the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is younger than the *nikāyas* and is older than the *Kathāvatthu*. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids,[58] the date of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* should be placed rather at the middle than at the end of fourth century or even earlier.

In the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* all phenomena which belong to the internal and external world have been classified and examined critically. They are known as *citta* (consciousness), *cetasika* (mental properties), *rūpa* (material qualities) and *nibbāna* (the highest bliss). The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* gives analytical account and also divisions of these four categories. It has three divisions. The first division discusses *citta* and *cetasika* and their functions. The second division mentions analytical account of *rūpa*. The third division is a summary of other discussions which have been said before. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* describes *citta*, *cetasika* and *rūpa* and mentions a list of terms called *mātikā* (the matrix of discussion). It treats them from the ethical standpoint.

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[59] begins with an introductory chapter and it has two sub-divisions. It has three main divisions. The first part discusses *citta* or consciousness in its good, bad, and its indeterminate states or conditions. It deals with eight types of

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thought which relates to sensuous universe (*kāmāvacara mahācittam*). It states that whenever a good thought relating to sensuous universe appears, then pleasure, taste, touch always come with it, and contact (*phasso*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), volition (*cetanā*), thought (*cittaṃ*) follow them and in this way the right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*) and other methods of the noble path, the different types of *balas* (sources of strength) — *saddhā* (faith), *viriya* (energy) etc. come. Then arrives *vedanā* (feeling).

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[60] refers to *sampajaññaṃ* (intelligence), *samatho* (quiet), *paggāho* (grasp), and *avikkhepo* (balance). It says that the constituents of the first type of thought mentions the four *khandhas* (aggregates), the two *āyatanas* (abodes), two *dhātus* (elements), the three *āhāras* (nutriments), the eight *indriyas* (senses), the fivefold *jhānas* (as distinguished from the four *jhānas*), the fivefold path, the seven *balas*, the three *hetus* (three causes), one *phassa* (one contact), one *vedanā* (one sensation), one *saññā* (one consciousness), one *cetanā* (one thinking), one *citta* (one thought), the *manāyatana* (sphere of ideation), the *manoviññānadhātu* (element of intellection). In the description of the *Saṅkhārakhando* about 50 states which begin with *phasso* (contact) and end with *avikkhepo* (balance) have been stated. The two *āyatanas* are the *manāyatana* and *dhammāyatana*, the sphere of mind and that of mental states.[61] The two *dhātus* are the *manoviññāna-dhātu* (intellection) and *dhammadhātu* (condition).[62] The *dhammadhāthu* has the *vedanā-khandha* (aggregate of sensation), *saññā-khandha* (aggregate of consciousness) and *saṅkhāra-khandha* (aggregate of confections).[63] The three *āhāras* (nutriments) are contact, volition, and consciousness.[64] Then we find the *Pañcaṅgikadhamma*, the fivefold *jhānas* — the *vitakka*, and *vicāra* (initial and sustained application), joy, happiness and concentration of mind.[65]

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[66] gives an account of the fivefold path — the right views, the right intention, the right exertion, the right intellection and the right concentration. The seven *balas* are faith, energy, recollection, concentration, insight, consciousness, and the fear of blame.[67] The three *hetus* or causes or moral roots are absence of avarice, hatred and delusion. Then come contact, sensation and perception.[68] Then the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[69] mentions the *vedanā-khandha*, *saññā-khandha*, *saṅkhāra-khandha*, and *viññāna-khandha*. The eight *indriyas*[70] are *saddhā* (faith), *viriya*

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(energy), *sati* (recollection), *samādhi* (meditation), *paññā* (wisdom), *manindriya* (mind), *somanassindriya* (delight) and *jīvitindriya* (vigour). The *Saṅkhāra-khandha*[71] has *phassa* (contact), *cetanā* (thinking), *vitakka* and *vicāra* (initial and sustained application), *ekaggatā* (concentration), *saddhā* (faith), energy, recollection, vigour, right determination, exertion, meditation, fear of blame and sin, absence of avarice, of hatred, of covetousness, of malice, calmness of mind and body etc. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* discusses them critically. It also refers to the four modes of progress, four objects of thought and objects of meditation.[72] It mentions forms as infinite and as beautiful and ugly.[73]

The four *jhānas* are developed in sixteen ways.[74] Then appear the sphere of infinite intellect, the sphere of nothingness and the sphere where there is neither perception nor non-perception.[75] Then arrive the topics of the *kāmāvacarakusalaṁ*, *rūpāvacarakusalaṃ* and *lokuttara cittaṁ*.[76] Then appear the twelve *akusala cittas*, *manadhātu* with *kusala-vipāka* (mind as a result of meritorious work), *manoviññāna dhātu* (consciousness in connection with joy because of meritorious deeds), consciousness in connection with *upekkhā* (indifference).[77] Then appear *Aṭṭhamahāvipāka*, *rūpūvacara-arūpāvacāra vipāka*, *suddhika-paṭipadā* (path which helps to arrive at purity), *suddhika saññataṁ* (four ways of progress in association with the notion of emptiness.)[78] Then appear the nineteen conceptions and the stages of progress in association with the dominant influence of desire.[79] Then there are the discussions on the following topics:[80] (1) The *Paṭhamamaggo vipāka* — the result of the first path. (2) The *Lokuttara vipāka* — the result of the *lokuttara citta*. (3) The *Akusala vipāka avyākata* — the result of demerit which does not fall under the category of *kusala* and *akusala*.

The *Kāmāvacara-kiriyā*[81] is known as the action in the sensuous world. The *rūpāvacara-kiriyā*[82] is known as the action in the world of form, and the *arūpāvacara-kiriyā* is also known as the action in the world of formlessness.[83] The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[84] after *kusala* and *akusala* deals with the *avyākata* which is neither *kusala* nor *akusala*. It then mentions the form which has taken shape through some cause, the collection of forms in two, in groups of three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten and eleven.[85] Then appear the three *kusala hetus*, the three *akusala hetus* and the three *avyākata hetus*.[86] Then come the mental impurities,

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avarice, hatred, pride, false belief, doubt, dullness, restlessness, shamelessness, and disregard of blame and sin.[87] The latter portion of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is a summary of the previous portion. This portion has been discussed before.

Kogen Mizuno gives an account of *Abhidhamma* literature. In it he discusses the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. He describes,[88] "The enumeration of eighty-nine *citta-dhamma* (the mind itself) and *cetasika* (attributes or concomitants of the mind) associated with each mind-consciousness shows evidently that the book should belong to the middle period of the *Abhidhamma*, judging from the standards of the *Sarvāstivāda* and other schools. But the method of definition and explanation adopted in this book bears the characteristics of the early period. It generally proceeds analytically, dissecting existence into its ultimate constituents, which are bare impersonal phenomena. It was probably because of its importance and basic nature that the book came to be placed first in the last. This book may be compared to the *Vijñānakāya* and the *Dhātu-kāya-śāstra* in regard to its contents. The difference between the two was that the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma* developed theories not only on *citta* and *cetasika*, but also on *rūpa-dharma*, evil desires, training, and other topics, while the Pāli *Abhidhamma* set emphasis on the mental field and showed a special characteristic development along that line. The difference in the modes of approach of the two schools is remarkable. The *Sarvāstivādins* may be described as philosophic and metaphysical, while the Pāli Buddhism is scientific and psychological".

THE *VIBHAṄGA*

The *Vibhaṅga*[89] is the second text of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It is divided into eighteen chapters. They are *Khandhavibhaṅga*, *Āyatanavibhaṅga*, *Dhātuvibhaṅga*, *Saccavibhaṅga*, *Indriya-vibhaṅga*, *Paccayākaravibhaṅga*, *Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga*, *Sammappadhānavibhaṅga*, *Iddhipādavibhaṅga*, *Bojjhaṅgavibhaṅga*, *Maggavibhaṅga*, *Jñānavibhaṅga*, *Appamaññavibhaṅga*, *Sikkhāpadavibhaṅga*, *Paṭisaṃbhidāvibhaṅga*, *Ñānavibhaṅga*, *Khuddakavatthuvibhaṅga*, and *Dhammahadayavibhaṅga*. Each of these chapters is known as *vibhaṅga* and has three parts. They are *Suttantabhājaniya*, the *Sutta* explanation, the *Abhidhammbhājaniya*, the *Abhidhamma* explanation and *Paññāpucchaka* or catechism or a catechetic section by way of

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questions and answers.[90] Thus the work has a series of 18 treatises (*vibhaṅga*).[91] They are complete in themselves and they are independent of each other. It is to be noted here that the first three chapters of the *vibhaṅga* — the *Khandhavibhaṅga*, the *Āyatanavibhaṅga* and the *Dhātuvibhaṅga* are mentioned as a supplementary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*.

The *Vibhaṅga* begins with *Khandhavibhaṅga* or the chapter on aggregates or the *khandhas*.[92] The *Suttantabhājaniya* portion deals with each of the ingredients, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā* and *saṅkhāra*.[93] The *Abhidhammabhājaniya*[94] portion discusses separately each of the five ingredients. There are four ways in which *rūpa* appears.[95] There is no cause for *rūpa*. Similarly, there are ten ways for the rise of *vedanā* or sensation.[96] *Vedanā* can be divided into various groups "according as *kusala* (good), *akusala* (bad), *avyākata* (neither good nor bad) and object ideation (*ārammaṇa*) are taken into consideration".[97] *Saññā*, *Saṅkhāra* and *Viññāna* also can be classified into various methods.[98] The *Paññāpucchaka* portion discusses the five *khandhas* and classifies them in various ways.[99] This chapter considers all the *khandhas* with respect to *sukha*, *vedanā*, etc.[100] The *Rūpakhandha* is not considered as an object ideation (*ārammaṇa*). The three *khandhas* are mentioned as *cetasika*.[101] *Rūpa* does not belong to the *citta* group but *vedanā* belongs to it.[102] The *Suttantabhājaniya* portion deals with various *āyatanas* (abodes) which are impermanent, non-existing and unchanging.[103] The *Abhidhammabhājaniya* portion discusses separately each of the two groups of *āyatanas*.[104] *Rūpāyatana*[105] is based on four great elements and the *manoviññāna āyatana* can be found by touch.[106] The *Dhātuvibhaṅga*[107] portion deals with six *dhātus* which are *paṭhavī*, *āpa*, *teja*, *vāyu*, *ākāsa* and *viññāna*.

There are two types of *Paṭhavī dhātu* — internal and external.[108] Portions of body can be mentioned as internal while anything outside one's own self can be described as external.[109] Apart from them there are six other *dhātus*.[110] There is a reference to a list of six other *dhātus* also.[111] Thus there are eighteen *dhātus*.[112] The *Paññā-pucchaka* portion[113] says that some of the eighteen *dhātus* are *kusala*, and some are *akusala*, and there are also *avyākata*. Then thee are various classifications of the *dhātus* according as they are *citta* or *cetasika*, sinful or not, caused or uncaused, determinable or indeterminate.[114]

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The *Saccavibhaṅga*[115] discusses the four *ariyasaccas* — *dukkhaṃ dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkhanirodaṃ* and *dukkhanirodhagāmini-paṭipadā* (i.e., suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering). The *Indriyavibhaṅga*[116] deals with twenty-two *indriyas* which are *cakkhu* (eye), *sota* (ear), *ghāna* (nose), *jihvā* (tongue), *kāya* (sense of touch), *mana* (mind), *itthi* (feminity), *purisa* (masculinity), *jīvita* (vitality), *sukha* (joy), *dukkha* (suffering), *somanassa* (delight), *domanassa* (grief), *upekkhā* (indifference), *saddhā* (faith), *viriya* (energy), *sati* (recollection), *samādhi* (concentration or contemplation), *paññā* (wisdom) and *anaññataññasmitindriyaṃ* ("I will knew what is not known"), *anññidriyaṃ* (sense of knowledge) and *aññātavindriyaṁ* (sense of having thoroughly known). The *Paccayākāravibhaṅga*[117] gives an account of various *paccayas*. In the *Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga*[118] there is the *Suttanta* portion which describes the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. The *Sammapadhānavibhaṅga*[119] treats the four essentials. The *Bojjhaṅgavibhaṅga*[120] mentions the seven *bojjhaṅgas* or supreme knowledge — *sati* (recollection), *dhamma-vicaya* (investigation), *viriya* (energy), *piti* (joy), *passadhi* (calm), *samādhi* (concentration or contemplation), and *upekkhā* (indifference). The *Maggavibhaṅga*[121] refers to the Noble Eightfold Path — *sammādiṭṭhi* (right view), *sammāsaṁkappa* (right thought), *sammāvācā* (right speech), *sammākammānta* (right action), *sammā-ājiva* (right living), *sammāvāyāma* (right exertion), *sammā sati* (right recollection), and *sammāsamādhi* (right meditation). The *Jhānavibhaṅga*[122] gives description of various *jhānas*. The *Sikkhāpadavibhaṅga*[123], refers to *sikkhāpadas* or precepts. Then the *Paṭisambhidāvibhaṅga*, the *Jñānavibhaṅga*, the *Khuddakavatthuvibhaṅga* and the *Dhammahadayavibhaṅga* discuss their subject-matters one after another.[124]

Kogen Mizuno in his *Abhidharma* literature mentions the *Vibhaṅga*. He describes,[125] "The *Vibhaṅga*, like the *Dharma-skandha-śāstra* of the *Sarvāstivāda*, explains important items of Buddhist doctrine, such as the five *Khandha*, the twelve *Āyatana*, the eighteen (*Dhātu*), the four *Sacca*, the twenty-two *indriya*, the twelve *paticca-samuppādā*, the four *sati-paṭṭhāna*, the four *sammappadhāna*, the seven *bojjhaṅga*, the *ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*, *jhāna*, *klesa* etc. But while the *Dharma-skandha-śāstra* adopted the method of the early *Abhidharma*, quoting and explaining the texts of the *Āgama*, this book, besides using the

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mehod of *sutta*, explanation (*suttanta-bhājaniya*) adopts the method of explaining items independent of the *sutta* in the *Abhidhamma* manner (*Abhidhamma bhājaniya*) and the *pañhapuccha* explanation, through a hundred and twenty-two matrices of discussion (*mātikā*). These methods belong to the middle period. The work consists of a series of 18 treatises (*vibhaṅga*), all complete in themselves and independent of each other. . . . Many of the passages of the *Vibhaṅga* are also found in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* to which it has a great resemblance in contents as well as in arrangement".

THE *KATHĀVATTHU*

The *Kathāvatthu*[126] is the third book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It is called the *Vijñānapada*.[127] It is known as a Buddhist book of debate on matters of theology and philosophy.[128] It is to be noted here that it is the only work of the *Tipiṭaka* which can be ascribed to a definite author. Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, who was the president of the Third Buddhist Council, which was held at Pāṭaliputta (Pāṭaliputra), under the patronage of the Maurya ruler Aśoka, composed it.[129] B.C. Law says,[130] "It is younger than the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. A close investigation will make it evident that this book of controversy is looked upon in one way as no more than a book of interpretation. A few specimens of controversy which the *Kathāvatthu* has embodied show that both sides referred to the Buddha as the final court of appeal". The *Kathāvatthu* should be included in the *Vinaya* collection. From the nature of discussion relating to *Saṅgha* affairs we are inclined to think that the *Kathāvatthu* should be incorporated with the *Vinaya* collection. Because, it deals with the *Vinaya* affairs and so closely allied with the topics discussed in the *Cullavagga*.

The *Kathavatthu* has twenty-three chapters.[131] In these chapters there are discussions and refutations of two hundred and nineteen different doctrinal items of the various schools. Kogen Mizuno describes, "The book seems to have grown gradually and most of the heretical views discussed are ascribed to various schools, some of which are later than the others. The text itself makes no mention of the names of the schools. This is supplied by the commentary. In this book many texts quoted from the *Suttapiṭaka* gives authority to the argument. As far as the terminology used and the theories set forth are conceived, this book seems to belong to the later period. Some scholars agree

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with tradition and accept the book as belonging to the latest period. Others make the *Paṭṭhāna* the latest book of all. The various heretical views represented in this book, the commentary says, include those of the *Vajjiputtaka*, the *Sammitiya*, the *Sabbatthivāda*, the *Mahāsaṅghika*, the *Kassapiya*, the *Andhaka*, the *Pubbaseliya*, the *Aparaseliya*, the *Rājagirika*, the *Siddhatthika*, the *Gokulika*, the *Bhaddayānika*, the *Mahiṃsāsaka*, the *Uttarapathaka*, the *Hetuvāda*, the *Vetulyaka* (*Mahāsuññavāda*), etc. Some of these are northern schools known to the *Samayabheda-vyūha-cakra-śāstra* and the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*. Some are southern schools unknown to northern Buddhism. The doctrines of the various schools could be better understood by studying this book in association with texts belonging to northern schools".

The first chapter of the *Kathāvatthu* discusses *Puggala* or personal entity, falling away of an *arahant*, higher life among the *devas*, the putting away corruptions or vices by one portion at a time, the casting off sensuous passions (*kāmarāga*) and ill-will (*byāpāda*) by a worldling (*puthujjano*), everything as persistently existing, some of the past and future as still existing, applications in mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) and existence in immutable modes (*atītaṁatthīti*)[132] —"*H'ev'atthi h'eva n' atthiti. S'eva'atthi s'eva n' atthiti? — Na h'evaṁ vattabbe-pe-s'ev'atthi s'eva n' atthiti? Āmatā*"[133]

The second chapter[134] mentions the *arahant* or the elect, the knowledge of the *arahant*, the excellence of the *arahant*, doubt in the *arahant*, specified progress in penetration, the Buddha's everyday usage[135] (*vohāra*), duration of consciousness, two cessations (*dvenirodhā*), etc.

The third chapter[136] describes the power or potentialities of the *Tathāgata* (*Tathāgatabalaṁ*). It is said that "of a *Tathāgata's* "ten powers" some he holds wholly in common with his disciples, some not, and some are partly common to both".[137] This chapter refers to emancipation,[138] the eighth man's (*aṭṭhamaka puggala*) controlling power,[139] divine eye,[140] divine ear (*dibbasota*), insight into destiny according to deeds,[141] moral restraint (*saṁvaro*), unconscious life etc.[142]

The fourth chapter refers to the attainment of arahatship by layman, i.e., householder,[143] an *arahant's* common humanity, retention of distinctive endowments,[144] an *arahant's* indifference in sense-cognition,[145] entering on the path of assurance,[146]

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putting off the fetter, etc.[147]

The fifth chapter[148] gives an account of "knowledge of enancipation (*vimuttiñāṇaṃ*),knowledge of a learner (*sokha*), perverted perception (*viparīta ñāṃaṁ*), assurance (*niyāma*), analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*), popular knowledge (*sammutiñāṇaṁ*), mental object in telepathy (*cetopariyāyañānaṃ*), knowledge of the present (*paccuppanna ñānaṃ*), knowledge of the future (*anāgata ñānaṃ*) and knowledge in the fruition of a disciple (*sāvakassa phaleñānaṃ*)".

The sixth chapter[149] says that the assurance (of salvation or *niyāma*) is unconditioned or uncreated and so also is *nibbāna*. It then mentions" causal genesis (*paṭiccasamuppāda* or dependent origination), four truths (*cattāri saccāni*), four immaterial spheres of life and thought,[150] the attaining to cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*), space as unconditioned (*asaṁkata*) and visible, and each of the four elements, the five senses and actions as visibles".

The seventh chapter[151] explains "the classification of things (*saṁgahītakathā*), mental states as mutually connected (*sampayutta*), mental properties (*cetasikas*), the controverted points that *dāna* is (not the gift but) the mental state (*cetasika dhamma*), that merit increases with utility (*paribhogamayaṁ-puññaṁ vaḍḍhati*), that earth is a result of action (*paṭhavīkammavipāka*), that decay and death are results of action, that Ariyan states of mind (*ariyadhamma*) have no positive result (*vipāka*), and that result is itself a state entailing resultant states (*vipākadhammādhamma*)".

The eighth chapter[152] speaks of the six spheres of the destiny (*chagatiyo*). The Buddha states that there are five destinities. They are purgatory (*niraya*), the animal kingdom (*tiracchānayoni*), the *peta*-realm (*pettivisaya*), mankind (*manussā*) and the *devas* (*devā*). The *Andhakas* and the *Uttarāpathakas* mention another — the *Asuras*. This chapter then deals with the following controverted points that there exists an intermediate state of existence (*antarābhava*), that the *kama*-sphere signifies only the fivefold pleasures of sense (*pañc'eva kāmagunā kāmadhātu*), that the ultimate "element of *rūpa*" is known as material, that the ultimate element of *arūpa* is known as immaterial, that in the *rūpa*-sphere the individual possesses all the six senses (*saḷāyatana*), that among the immaterials matter exists, that physical actions which come from good or bad thoughts are regarded as moral acts of

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karma, that there is no such thing which can be mentioned as a material vital power (*n'atthi rūpajwitindriyanto*), and that owing to *karma* an *arahant* has a chance of falling away from arahantship (*kammahetu arahā arahattā parihāyati*).

The ninth chapter[153] describes the way whereby the fetters are put off for one who understands a blessing (in store) (*ānisaṃsadassāvissa saññojanānaṁ pahānaṁ*). Then it says that the "Ambrosial"(*amataṁ*) is considered as an object of thought but which is not yet freed from bondage whether matter should be considered as subjective or objective, and that latent (immoral) bias and insight are known as without mental object. Then it gives an account of a discussion between the *uttarā-p athakasrāp* and the *Theravādins*. They discussed that whether consciousness of a past object or of future ideas is without object. According to the *Uttarāpathakas*, when mind remembers a past object, it then becomes without object. Their views became known as self-contradictory by the *Theravādins*.

The tenth chapter[154] discusses the five 'operative' (*kiriyā*) aggregates (*khandhas*) which appear before five aggregates seeking rebirth have ceased. It mentions the eightfold path and bodily form and says that eightfold path can be developed while enjoying the five kinds of sense-consciousness (*pañca viññāna*), which are co-ideational (*sābhogā*), good (*kusala*), and bad (*akusala*), that one was busy with the path practices a double morality (*dvihisīlohi*), that virtue, which is not considered as a property of consciousness, moves along after thought, that acts of intimation (*viññatti*) are regarded as moral (*sīlaṃ*) and acts of non-intimation (*aviññatti*) are known as immoral (*dussālayaṁ*).

The eleventh chapter[155] says that the latent bias (*anusaya*) is known as indeterminate (*avyākata*). It mention that insight is not united with consciousness and "that insight into the nature of ill is put into operation from the utterance of the word. This is ill". It refers to the *iddhi* (magic gift, miracle), concentration, the causality of things (*dhammaṭṭhitatā parinipphannā*) and impermanence (*aniccatā*)

The twelfth chapter[156] describes acts of restraint (*saṁwaro kamma*). It states that all actions bring moral or good results and that sense-organs can be described as the results of *karma*. It mentions even rebirths, limit, murder, evil tendencies and informs us further that these can be eliminated in the case of a person who has gone to the stage of the seventh rebirth.

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The thirteenth chapter[157] refers to a deemed man's morality, captivity, and release, lust for the unpleasant, etc.

The fourteenth chapter[158] says that the roots of good and bad thoughts move consecutively and conversely. It deals with the development of sense-organs of a being in human embryo. It discusses the questions relating to the immediate contiguity in sense, outward life of an *ariya*, unconscious outbursts of corruption, desire as innate in heavenly things, the unmoral, and the unrevealed and the unincluded.

The fifteenth chapter[159] refers to correlation as specially fixed, reciprocal correlation, time, four *āsavas* or sins, decay and death of spiritual things, trance which helps to reach the unconscious sphere and *karma* and its accumulation.

The sixteenth chapter[160] describes controlling and assisting another's mind, making another happy and attending to everything at the same time. It says that material qualities have conditions which are good or moral, bad or immoral and they are described as results of *karma*. This chapter also discusses matter which belong to the material and immaterial heavens and desire for life in the higher heavens.

The seventeenth chapter[161] deals with an *arahat* who obtains merit and for this reason he will not have a premature death. It says that everyting moves because of *karma*. It states that *dukkha* is always surrounded by sentient organisms and all other conditioned things excepting the Aryan Path only, are mentioned as ill or *dukkha*. It refers to the order, the accepting of gifts, daily life, the fruit of giving, and sanctification of the gift.

The eighteenth chapter[162] discusses the Buddha's living in the world of mankind, the manner in which the *Dhamma* was preached, the Buddha who did not feel for pity, the one and only path, movement from one *jhāna* to another, watching visible things with the eye etc.

The nineteenth chapter[163] refers to getting rid of corruption, the void which is included in the aggregate of mental co-efficients (*saṁkhāra-khandha*), the results of recluseship, attainment which can be described as unconditioned, fundamental characteristics of all things which are mentioned as unconditioned, *Nibbāna* as morally good, final assurance, and the moral controlling powers (*indriyakathā*).

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The twentieth chapter[164] records the five cardinal crimes, insight which does not belong to the average man, guards of purgatories, rebirths of animals in heaven, the Aryan Path which is known as fivefold, and the spiritual feature of insight into the twelvefold base.

The twenty-first chapter[165] says that the religion is subject to reformation. It mentions certain fetters, supernormal potency (*iddhi*), the Buddhas, the Buddha's all-pervading power, natural immutability of all things, and inflexibility of all *karmas*.

The twenty-second chapter[166] discuses the completion of life, moral consciousness, imperturbable (fourth *jhāna*) consciousness, attainment of Arahatship by the embryo, a dreamer's penetration of truth, a dreamer's attainment of Arahatship, the unmoral, correlation by repetition and momentary duration.

The twenty-third chapter[167] describes the topic of a Boddhisattva who visits a hell (*vinipātaṁ gacchati*), enters a womb (*gabbhaseyyaṁ okkameti*), does hard works (*dukkara-kārikaṁ akāsi*), performs penance under alien teachers of his own accord and free will (*aparantapaṁ akāsi, aññaṁ satthāraṁ uddisi*). It then mentions that aggregates, controlling powers — "all save ill is undetermined" (*aparinipphanna*).

THE *PUGGALAPAÑÑATTI*

The *Puggalapaññatti*[168] is the fourth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It can be mentioned as the smallest of the seven books of the Pāli *Abhidhamma*. It is known as the *Prajñapti-pāda*.[169] It is a short work which shows its difference very much not only in language but also in subject-matter from other books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It refers to several obscure Buddhist terms and phrases. We do not know about the date of this work. Most probably, it was written after the *nikāyas*.[170] It mentions the nature of the personality according to the stages along the spiritual path. It deals with the *sammāsambuddha, pacceoka-buddha* and the *Ariya-Puggala*. The object of this book is to deal with the various types of individuals, but it does not mention the various *dhammas*. According to scholars, the *Puggalapaññatti* which is one of earliest part of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is nothing but a collection of several portions from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Kogen Mizuno[171] describes that in Pāli Buddhism there are six *paññattis — khandha, āyatana, dhātu,*

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sacca, *indriya* and *puggala-paññatti*. The *Puggala-paññatti* deals with the *puggala-paññatti* only. Kogon Mizuno[172] says, "In fact, it appears somewhat out of place in the *Abhidhamma*, because one of the main characteristics of the *Abhidhamma* is that it does not employ conventional terms like 'individual' (*puggala*) but deals only with ultimates. This work, however, is written in the conventional language of the *suttas* and most of its contents have literal parallels in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Saṅgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The *suttas* from the *Nikāyas* are quoted and explained concerning the various types of *Puggala*. This book evidently belongs to the early *Abhidhamma*. The *Pudgala* chapter of the *Na-prasna-bhāna* of the *Sāriputra-abhidharma-śāstra* corresponds to the *Puggala-paññatti*".

The *Puggalapaññatti*[173] deals with the following topics:

(1) six designations,

(2) grouping of human types by one,

(3) grouping of human types by two,

(4) grouping of humna types by three,

(5) grouping of human types by four,

(6) grouping of human types by five,

(7) grouping of human types by six,

(8) grouping of human types by seven,

(9) grouping of human types by eight,

(10) grouping of human types by nine,

(11) grouping of human types by ten.

Puggala[174] is an individual or a person. The Buddhists think that an individual has no real existence.[175] The term "*Puggala*" does not indicate anything real.[176] It can be mentioned as *sammutisacca* (apparent truth) as opposed to *paramatthasacca* (real truth).[177] According to a *Puggalavādin*, a person is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, but he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known.[178] In the sense of a real and ultimate fact, he or she is known, and in the

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sense of a real and ultimate fact his or her material quality is also known.[179] But frankly speaking, it cannot be mentioned that the material quality is one thing and the person is another. Nor can it be said that the person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external characteristics or whether he has none.[180] He is a person who has material quality in the sphere of matter, but it cannot be mentioned that one who has desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire is a person.[181] It is known that the genesis of the person is apparent, his passing away and duration are also apparent, but it is difficult to say that the person is conditioned.[182] *Paññatti* signifies 'notion', designation, etc.'[183] It indicates what the mind both conceives and renders articulate.[184] The *Puggalapaññatti* commentary[185] says that the meaning of '*paññatti*' is 'explanation', 'preaching', 'pointing out', 'establishing','showing', and 'exposition'. It refers to six *paññattis*.[186] The meaning of *paññatti* are designations, indications, expositions. affirmations and depositions (*paññāpanā, desanā, pakāsanā, thapanā* and *nikkhipanā*).[187] The *Puggalapaññatti*[188] signifies 'pointing out', 'showing', 'expositions', 'establishing', and 'deposition of persons'. It may also indicate 'notion' or 'designation' of types of persons.[189] The *Puggalapaññatti*[190] refers to the classification of the *paññatti* or notion into group (*khandha*), locus (*āyatana*), element (*dhātu*), truth (*sacca*), faculty (*indriya*) and person (*puggala*). This work deals with the last one. This is its subject-matter. It discusses human individuals of various kinds. It refers to such questions as who is angry, who is wicked, who has a base mentality, who has a high mentality etc. and gives answers to these questions. S.Z. Aung in his *Introductory Essay* says that the word '*paññatti*' can be used for both name and notion (or term and concept).[191] The author of the *Puggalapaññatti* tries to follow the system introduced in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[192] The compiler not only has taken his materials but also follows the treatment of the subject-matter of the *Saṅgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[193]

The first chapter[194] mentions how and in what way the manifestation of the six *paññattis* (designations) has taken place. But in the treatment of *puggala* we find a long list of different types.

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Here is given an account of them: one is a *sekha* (learner), an *arahant* (one who is emancipated), *paccekabuddha* (individual Buddha), *sammāsambuddha* (Exalted Buddha), *saddhānusārī* (one who follows faith), *dhammānusāri* (one who follows *dhamma*), *sotāpanna* (one who has attained the first stage of sanctification), *sakadāgāmi* (one who has attained the second stage of sanctification), *anāgāmi* (one who has attained the third stage of sanctification), or an *arhant* (saint). In this way the first chapter refers to fifty different types.

The second chapter[195] gives a class of persons who have acquired two qualities. For this reason they are known as persons who are both angry as well as an enemy or who are both idle and unscrupulous, slothful and sensuous. This chapter mentions in this way twenty-six different types.

The third chapter[196] records a type of beings. There are three qualities. This chapter says that there are beings who ignore the *sīlas* or moral conduct, who do not observe celibacy, and also persons who really do so. There are persons who are free from *āsavas* or sins and those who speak truth, and those who are so blind that they are not able to see *kusala* and *akusala* states. There are also persons who are not worthy for serving, who do not deserve themselves for worshipping and they are quite unfit for adoring, but there are also persons, who are to be served, to be worshipped and to be adored. There are teachers also.

The fourth chapter[197] describes persons who are good men and saints and also there are persons who are not so. It refers to four types of *Dhammakathikas* who are known as preachers of *dhamma*. It then mentions four kinds of persons who are like clouds, who speak very loudly but they are unable to do act accordingly, but they are also persons who speak less and do not act accordingly. It gives an exhaustive treatment of persons who are lustful, self-seeking and also there are persons who are busy doing something for others. It mentions of persons who are still evil-minded and they have attachment.

The fifth chapter[198] discusses five types of persons. They are: "(1) Those who hold in contempt all those whom they give, (2) those who hold in contempt all those with whom they live, (3) those who are in gaping mouth at the praise and blame of the people, (4) those who have low pursuits, and (5) those who are dull and stupid". This chapter says that there are persons who act or do not act, who are or are not remorseful and who are unable to

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know when and how disappearance of *kusala* and *akusala dhamma* have taken place.

The sixth chapter[199] records six types of persons. It says that there are three types of persons who have not heard the doctrine before. But, even then, they attain omniscience and obtain its results, in this very existence they are able to put an end to suffering and became perfect disciples and they not only remove suffering in this existence and by their own efforts and devotion they are able to reach the stage of non-returners and they understand truths perfectly. There are also three types of persons who are unable to obtain omniscience and its results, they put an end to suffering, but do not receive the perfection of a disciple and they are unable to remove suffering, but, even then, they become once-returners.

The seventh chapter[200] discusses seven types of persons: those who are associated with *akusala dhamma* "suddenly float or sink as if in water or cross over to the other banks or pass over to both the banks of the sea of life".

The eighth chapter[201] gives an account of the eight types of people. They are *Sotāpatti, Sakadāgāmi, Anāgāmi* and *Arahat.* There are also four types of persons who reach the stage of fruition.

The ninth chapter[202] mentions nine types of people. There are persons who are wise, who have not yet reached the stage of the Buddhas, who are free both ways, who has wisdom which is free, who has pure body, who have obtained purity in thought, freedom in faith, try to follow the *dhamma* truly and become faithful in every respect.

The tenth chapter[203] says that there are five persons who are known as accomplished, who live in this world but by their devotion and activities reach the highest stage of perfection. There are also persons who have obtained *parinibbāna* too early and those who have reached the stage of *anāgāmi* as well as those persons who never return.

THE *DHĀTUKATHĀ*

The *Dhātukathā*[204] is the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids[205] says that the meaning of the *Dhātukathā* is "talk on elements". It can be mentioned as a talk on the mental elements and their relations to other systems. The

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Sarvāstivāda school mentions it as the *Dhātu-kāya-pada*.[206] The *Khandhavibhaṅga*, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga* and the *Āyatanavibhaṅga* are the three chapters of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and they practically form the foundation of the *Dhātukathā*. It is not an independent treatise and its object is to serve "as a supplement to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*".[207] It contains fourteen chapters. All these chapters deal with *khandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* from different angles. They treat these matters in the form of questions and answers. Some scholars want to mention the name of this work as the *Khandha-āyatana-dhātukathā* because this work mainly speaks of these subjects. Kogen Mizuno[208] says, "The *Dhātukathā* describes in the chapters the relation of all pnenomena to groups (*khandha*), bases (*āyatana*), and elements (*dhātu*) and all inter-association of mind and mental attributes (*citta-cetasika*) with one another. This dialectic method of study, involving hundreds of questions and answers, is one of the characteristics of the middle period. The same method is adopted in the *Dhātu-kāya* and the *Prakaraṇa-śāstra* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school".

The *Dhātukathā* or "Discourse on the Element"[209] discusses the five *khandhas* (aggregates) — *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṁkhāra* and *viññāna;* twelve *āyatanas* (abodes): *cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, mana,* and *dhamma;* eighteen *dhātus* (elements): *cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, cakkhuviññāna, sotaviññāna, ghānaviññāna, jihvāviññāna, kāyaviññāna, mano, manoviññāna* and *dhamma;* four *satipaṭṭhānas* (recollections): mindfulness as regards body (*kāya*), thought (*citta*) feeling (*vedanā*) and mind-states (*dhamma*); four truths (*sacca*): *dukkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (origin of suffering) *magga* (the path or the way which leads to the end of suffering) and *nirodha* (the cessation of suffering); four *jhānas* (stages of meditation) — first (*pathama*), *dutiya* (second) third (*tatiya*) and fourth (*catuttha*); five *balas* (potentialities): faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom or insight (*paññā*); seven *bojjhaṅgas* (elements of knowledge): recollection (*sati*), investigation of the Norm (*dhamma-vicaya*), energy (*viriya*), satisfaction (*pīti*), equanimity (*passadhi*), rapt concentration (*samādhi*), indifference (*upekkhā*); the Noble Eightfold Path: right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) right aim (*sammāsaṁkappo*), right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanto*), right living (*sammā-ājīvo*), right exertion (*sammāvāyāmo*), right mindfulness (*sammāsati*) and right concentration (*sammāsamādhi*). It also

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mentions the senses of suffering, delight, faith, energy, recollection, concentration, attachment, sins, consciousness, excellent *dhamma* (law), *kusala dhammas* (merits or good), *akusala dhammas* (demerits or bad), *rūpāvacara* and *arūpāvacara dhammas.*[210]

THE *YAMAKA*

The *Yamaka* or "the *Pairs-book*"[211] is the sixth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* The *Sarvāstivāda* school refers to it as the *Prakaraṇapada.*[212] It deals with psychological subjects and the arrangement of their analytical accounts is made in the form of pairs of questions. Because of its method of treatment it is known as *Yamaka.* It discusses in such a way that its all questions are given and answered in two ways. It "contains questions framed and answered in two ways". It has ten chapters. Each chapter describes its subject-matter in that way that its is complete in itself and each one can be mentioned as an independent one. Kogen Mizuno[213] says, "The *Yamaka* discusses the problems of *saṅgaha* (classification and subordination) and *uppādanirodha* (appearance and disappearance) of all things, discussed pair by pair in a catechismal form. It tries to give a logical classification and delimitation of all the doctrinal concepts as to their range and concepts. It may be described as a work of "applied logic" but much of the play upon words appears rather strange. The method, it may be said, somewhat resembles the catechism of the *vedalla* in the *navaṅgasāsana* (or *Vellalla sutta,* earlier mentioned). But the catechism of *Yamaka* is so recondite that it is almost unintelligible to beginners without deep knowledge of the *Abhidhamma* doctrine. In this point, the *Yamaka* resembles the *Jñāna-prasthāna,* a late book of the *Sarvāstivādins,* which is again too professional for beginners. Its name (the Pairs) is probably to be attributed to the dual grouping, of a questions and its converse formulation, strictly adhered to from beginning to end".

The *Yamaka* deals with psychological, ethical and eschatological matters.[214] Its *Mūla Yamaka* discusses *kusala dhammas* and *akusala dhammas* and their roots.[215] Its *Khandha Yamaka* mentions five *khandhas* (aggregates) — *rūpa, vedanā,* (sensation), *saññā* (consciousness), *saṁkhāra* (confections) and *Viññāna.*[216] Its *Āyatana Yamaka* refers to twelve *āyatanas* — *cakkhu* (eye), *sota* (ear), *ghāna* (nose), *jihvā* (tongue), *kāya* (sense of touch), *rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, mana* and

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dhamma.[217] Its *Dhātu Yamaka* treats of the eighteen *dhātus* or elements — *cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, cakkuviññāna, sotaviññāna, ghānaviññāna, jihvāviññāna, kāyaviññāna, mano, manoviññāna,* and *Dhamma.*[218] Its *Sacca Yamaka* explains four noble truths — *dukkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (origin of suffering), *magga* (the path which leads to the end of suffering) and *nirodha* (the cessation of suffering).[219] Its *Saṁkhāra Yamaka* describes three *saṁkhāras.*[220] Its *Anusaya Yamaka* records the *anusayas* (inclinations) — *kāmarāga* (passion for sensual pleasures), *paṭigha* (hatred), *diṭṭhi* (false view), *vicikicchā* (doubt), *māna* (pride), *bhavarāga* (passion for existence) and *avijjā* (ignorance).[221] Its *Citta Yamaka* gives an account of mind and mental states.[222] Its *Dhamma Yamaka* says about *kusala* and *akusala dhammas.*[223] Its *Indriya Yamaka*[224] speaks of the twenty-two *indriyas* — *cakkhu* (eye), *sota* (ear), *ghāna* (nose), *jihvā* (tongue), *kāya* (sense of touch), *mana* (mind), *itthi* (feminity), *purisa* (masculinity), *jivita* (vitality), *sukha* (joy), *dukkha* (suffering), *somanassa* (delight), *domanassa* (grief), *upekkhā* (indifference), *saddhā* (faith), *viriya* (energy), *sati* (recollection), *samādhi* (contemplation or concentration), *paññā* (wisdom), *anaññataññassamitindriyaṃ* ("I will know what it is not known"), *aññindriyaṃ* (sense of knowledge) and *aññātavindriyaṁ* (sense of having thoroughly known).

THE *PAṬṬHĀNA*

The *Paṭṭhāna*[225] or the Book of Causes is the seventh book of the *Abhihamma Piṭaka.* The *Sarvāstivāda* school mentions it as the *Jñānaprasthāna.*[226] It is regarded as the most important and voluminous book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* It deals with causation and mutual relationship of phenomena. It discusses various kinds of relationship between phenomena. It is also known as *Mahāpakaraṇa.* Kogen Mizuno says,[227] "As this book is the most recondite and voluminous of the seven books, it is sometimes called the Great Discourse Book (*Mahāpakaraṇa*). Like the *Yamaka,* this book is very difficult to understand. It has, therefore, been said that he who masters this book masters all the doctrines of the *Abhidhamma*".

The *Paṭṭhāna* gives a detailed account of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda.* It in the form of twenty-four *paccayas* mentions the twelve systems of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda.* These twenty-four *paccayas* or modes of relationship between things

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(*dhammas*) are called the twenty-four *paṭṭhānas.*[228] The twenty-four *paccayas* are[229] — *Hetu paccaya* (condition, rootcause causal ralation), *Ārammanapaccaya* (object presented in mind), *Adhipatipaccaya* (dominance), *Anantarapaccaya*) (contiguity), *Sammanantarapaccaya* (immediate contiguity), *Saha jātapavvaya* (co-nascence), *Aññamaññapaccaya* (reciprocity), *Nissayapaccaya* (dependence), *Upanissayapaccaya* (sufficing, efficiency dependence), *Purojātapaccaya* (antecedence), *Pacchājāṭapaccaya* (consequence), *Asevanapaccaya* (habitual recurrence), *Kammapaccaya* (action), *Vipākapaccaya* (result), *Āhārapaccaya* (support or nutriment), *Indriyapaccaya* (control, faculty), *Jhānapaccaya* (meditation), *Maggapaccaya* (path, means), *Sampayuttapaccaya* (association), *Vippayuttapaccaya* (dissociation), *Atthipaccaya* (presence), *Natthipaccaya* (absence), *Vigatapaccaya* (abeyance) and *Avigatapaccaya* (continuance). It is to be noted here that some of the *paccayas* have already been described in the *Patisambhidāmagga* and the *Kathāvatthu.*[230] But this book, i.e., the *Paṭṭhāna* can be mentioned as the first to group them into a body of twenty-four.[231] It is a book of the late period and, that is why, it has some resemblance to the *Sāriputra-abhidharma-śāstra,* in which ten conditions are mentioned and to the *Jñāna-prasthāna-śastra,* in which six conditions are recorded.[232] The ten conditions of the *Sāriputra-abhidharma* agree with the Pāli *Paṭṭhana's* some of the 24 conditions or *paccayas.*[233] There are four divisions in the *Paṭṭhāna-Anulomapaṭṭhāna, Paccaniya-paṭṭhāna, Anulomapacca-niyapaṭṭhāna* and *Paccaniya-anulomapaṭṭhāna.* The twenty-four *paccayas* have been mentioned in a sixfold way in these four divisions — *Tikapaṭṭhāna, Dukapaṭṭhāna, Duka-tikapaṭṭhāna, Tika-duka-paṭṭhāna, Tika-tikapaṭṭhāna* and *Duka-dukapaṭṭhāna.*

Dr. W.S. Karunaratne gives an account of the *Abhidhamma* as philosophy. He states,[234] "The *Abhidhamma* constitutes the results of an inquiry into the nature of human experience, both sensory and extra sensory. Since the results are stated and interpreted in terms of language and logic, it allows the *Abhidhamma* the justification to be considered as philosophy. The function of philosophy, if the latter is to be practically useful and ethically edifying is not to indulge in speculative cogitation or more intellection but to understand nature. The understanding cannot be obtained or developed without reference to the observation of the world within and around us in the way it actually functions.

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The principles that govern nature are not made available to sense perception directly except throughout instances and illustrations in one's daily experience, such as seeing falling mangoes and decaying bodies. They can be discovered only through the philosophic method of analysis and synthesis. If we are not to remove ourselves further away from reality, it becomes imperative that we first describe rather than re-interpret the data of our perception. In this regard the *Abhidhamma* can be introduced as a critical and descriptive philosophy. The greater part of the content of the *Abhidhamma* is an analysis and synthesis of phenomena, but it does not stop at a mere phenomenalism or realism. Towards, its later part the *Abhidhamma* describes the unconditioned absolute, but it does not claim to be a thorough-going monism that altogether denies the objective reality of the world which is received and confirmed by the sensations. Realism that denies the world of spirit is false materialism, while idealism that denies the reality of the phenomenal world removes the very possibility for ethical striving and religion and spirituous development. In the interests of ethics and religion the *Abhidamma* avoids both extremes and follows the middle path of sanity and common sense".

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2. *DPL*, p. 3.
3. *ASI*, pp. 28-32; *SHVI*, p. 1; *MRP*, 1, 77; *IVP*, p. xxxdv; *ADP*, p. 95; *SIAD*, p. 97.
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5. *ADKB, BB*, p. 7.
6. *DPPN*, I, p. 138.
7. *ADP*, p. 90.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
11. *SIAD*, p. 97.
12. *Ibid.*
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15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*

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19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *DPL.*, p. 3.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *PED*, p. 65.
25. *EB, Acala-Akan Kheyya Sutta*, pp. 37 ff.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 38 ff.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Dhs*, AK, p. 2: "*Kenatthena Abhidhamma? dhammātirekadhamma-visesaṭṭhena Atirekavisesaṭṭhadipake hi ettha abhisaddo.* Elsewhere in the same work (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 19-20) Buddhaghosa says that the proposition *abhi* conveys as many as five meanings: *ayam hi abhi-saddo, vuḍḍhi-sala-kkhanā pūjita-paricchinnādikesu dissati*"
29. *DhsA*, 224; 72, 330; *VbhA*, 132-39; *DA*, III, 991; *Dhs*, 1961.
30. *DhsA, 21:* "*Ettha hi vinayapiṭakaṃ ānārahena bhagavatā ānābāhullato desitattā ānādesanā. Suttantapiṭakaṃ vohārakusalena bhagavatā vohārabāhullato desitattā vohāra desanā Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ paramatthakusalena bhagavatā paramatthabāhullato desitattā paramatthadesanā ti vuccati*".
31. *AP*, 44; *Vin.* IV, 144; *DhsA* 3; Nism, 320.
32. *DhsA.* 2; *VinA*, I, 20; *AA*, III, 366.
33. *Vin.* I, 14; V. 181.
34. *DN.* III, 267; *MN*, I, 214, 218; II, 239; *AN*, I, 288, 290; III, 107; IV, 398.
35. *Milin*, 344; *DhsA* 2; *AA* III, 366; *Dpv*, v. 37.
36. *MN*, I, 472; *AN* I, 214; *Vin.* I, 98.
37. *EB, Acala-Akaṅkheyya Sutta*, pp. 39 ff.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 39 ff.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 46 ff.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 46 ff.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 64 ff.
51. *ER*, 2, pp. 513 ff.
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59. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
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63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
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70. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
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74. *Ibid.*
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77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-09.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*
88. *EB.* I, *A-Acala*, p. 76.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 76; *HPL*, I, p. 309; *Vibhanga*.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 76; *Ibid.*, I, p. 313.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
92. *HPL*, I, p. 313.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*

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95. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
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121. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
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138. *Ibid.*, p. 318, f.n. 3: "*Sarāgaṁ cittaṁ vimuccati*" — "That becoming emancipated".
139. *Ibid.*, p. 318, f.n. 4: The eighth man does not possess *saddhā* (faith), *viriya* (energy), *sati* (recollection) *samādhi* (meditation), and *paññā* (wisdom) — *Kathāvatthu*, I, p. 247.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 318, f.n. 5: "Fleshy eye (*maṁsacakkhu*), when it is the medium of an idea (*dhammapatthaddhaṁ*) becomes the celestian eye (*dibbcakkhu*)"— *kathavatthu*, I, p. 25; PC, p. 149. According to Mrs. Rhys Davida, the *Andhakas* and the *Sammitiyas* hold this view.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 318, f.n.7: "*Yathākammupagataṁ ñāṇaṁ dibbacakkhunti*"? — "the celestial eye amounts to insight into destiny according to deeds"— *Kathāvatthu*. I, p. 256; *PC*. p. 151.
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143. *Ibid.*, p. 318 f.n.9: Yasa, Uttiya, Setu were able to attain arshatship when they led their lives as laity.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 319 f.n.1,: The *Theravādins* think that "all personal endowments are only held as distinct acquisitions, until they are cancelled by other acquisitions" — *PC*, p. 161.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 319 f.n.2: An *arahant* has sixfold indifference (*upekkhā*).
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147. *Ibid.*, p. 319, f.n. 4: "*Sabbasaññojanānaṁ pahānaṁ a rahattamti*"? — This section raises this question. Arahatship can be mentioned as the removal of all obstacles. Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks that the *Andhakas* held this opinion.
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149. *Ibid.*
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170. *Ibid.*
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173. *HPL*. I, p. 328.
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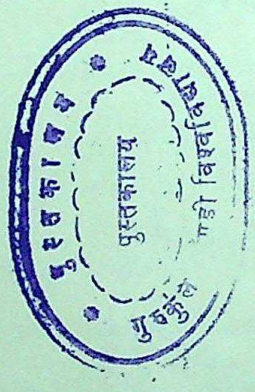

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